DG867.3.A4 C001 V003
HISTORY OF THE WAR OF THE SICILIAN
3 4211 000023842
WITHDRAWN
WITHDRAWN

HISTORY

OF THE WAR

OF THE SICILIAN VESPERS.

VOL. III.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/historyofwarofsi0000mich

11817

CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

CHAPTER XIV.—*Continued.*

PAGE

First Orators sent to the King.—First Treaty between James and King Charles.—The Peace ratified by Celestine V. — Boniface VIII. presses it still more strenuously. — Practices of the Courts of Rome and Aragon with the Infant Don Frederick.—New Orators despatched to King James. — Frederick called to the Throne of Sicily.— Fruitless attempt of Pope Boniface to prevent it. — January 1292, to January 1296 1

CHAPTER XV.

Coronation of Frederick II. of Sicily.—New Constitution by which a large portion of the Sovereign Power is vested in the Parliament. — Frederick carries the War into Calabria. — Incipient Disagreements between the King and Loria.—Taking of Cotrone.—Military Achievements in Terra d'Otranto.—Battle of the Bridge of Brindisi.— Pope Boniface stirs up James against his Brother. — Embassy from James.—Parliament at Piazza.—Battle of Ischia.—James comes to Rome—His Summons to Loria. —Rebellion of the latter against Frederick.—Queen Constance withdraws him from Sicily with John of Procida. —From the Spring of 1296, to the Spring of 1297 . . . 38

CHAPTER XVI.

PAGE

Rebellion of the Vassals of the Admiral in Sicily, which is subdued, and himself defeated by the Sicilians under Catanzaro.—Preparations of James and of Frederick.—The former disembarks on the Northern Shore of the Island, and advances to the Siege of Syracuse.—Feats of Arms in the Guerilla Warfare which breaks forth in Sicily.—John Loria defeated and taken Prisoner in the Straits of Messina. — The Siege of Syracuse raised. — James returns to Naples, and thence to Catalonia.—Fresh Invasion of Sicily by him.—Parliament at Messina.—The Sicilian Fleet defeated by that of Catalonia at Capo d'Orlando.—Summer of 1297, to the 4th of July, 1299. . 90

CHAPTER XVII.

James, leaving Robert in Sicily, returns to Naples and thence to Catalonia.—Both parties prepare to continue the War in Sicily.—Several Cities give themselves up to Robert; Chiaramonte is taken; others hold out.—Treachery of some Citizens by which the Enemy is admitted into Catania.—Effect produced in the Island.—Measures taken by Pope Boniface.—Disembarkation of the Prince of Taranto.—Battle of Falconaria, in which he is defeated and captured.—Artifice and Battle of Gagliano. —July 1299, to February 1300 137

CHAPTER XVIII.

Forces of Frederick and of the Enemy, and Practices of Boniface. — Treaty of Charles II. with Genoa. — His Intrigues in Sicily. — Naval Armaments. — Battle of Ponza.—Treatment of the Sicilian Prisoners, and Death of Palmiero Abate.—Prosecution of the War with little advantage.—Loss of Robert's Fleet.—Conspiracy against the Life of Frederick. — Blockade of Messina; terrible Famine; noble Conduct of the King. — Truce. — From the Spring of 1300, to that of 1302 185

CHAPTER XIX.

PAGE

Charles of Valois at Florence, and afterwards in Sicily.—Feeble Effects of his Arms.—Siege of Sciacca.—Attitude and Measures of Frederick.—The Army of the Enemy wastes away before Sciacca.—Proposals of Peace and Preliminaries of Caltavuturo.—Interview between the Princes.—Treaty of Caltabellotta.—It is carried into execution.—Banquet given by Charles of Valois in Messina.—Modification of the Terms of the Treaty, by desire of Pope Boniface.—Frederick acknowledged King of Trinacria.—Marries Eleanor, daughter of Charles.—Origin of the Company of Romania.—From September 1301, to the Spring of 1303 239

CHAPTER XX.

Conclusion.—The state of Sicily before the Revolution of the Vespers; how modified thereby; what it remained . 278

APPENDIX.

Enumeration and Examination of all the Historical Authorities for the Events of the Revolution of the Vespers . . 301

Documents 348

THE

WAR OF THE SICILIAN VESPERS.

CHAPTER XIV.—*continued.*

FIRST ORATORS SENT TO THE KING.—FIRST TREATY BETWEEN JAMES AND KING CHARLES.—THE PEACE RATIFIED BY CELESTINE V.—BONIFACE VIII. PRESSES IT STILL MORE STRENUOUSLY.—PRACTICES OF THE COURTS OF ROME AND ARAGON WITH THE INFANT DON FREDERICK.—NEW ORATORS DESPATCHED TO KING JAMES.—FREDERICK CALLED TO THE THRONE OF SICILY.—FRUITLESS ATTEMPT OF POPE BONIFACE TO PREVENT IT.—JANUARY 1292 TO JANUARY 1296.

At the commencement of 1292, King Charles and the Pope sent as an orator to James, Boniface of Calamandrano, Master of the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem on this side the sea;[1] a man famous in arms and expert in civil policy,

[1] The office of this Boniface in the order of the Hospitallers, which has been a matter of doubt amongst our historians, is clearly expressed in a diploma of the 10th of October, 1294, to be found in the R. Archives of Naples.

with whom the son of Peter, and pupil of Procida, temporised,[1] on account of the death of the Pope which took place at that time, replying that the Sicilians, being not impotent subjects, but sharers with him in political rights, he would refer the matter in hand to them; for he was in fact persuaded that any treaty from which their assent was withheld would remain an empty letter. He therefore despatched, to sound the feelings of the nation, Gilbert Cruyllas, a Catalan knight, who having landed at Messina the 2d April, 1293, all Sicily was troubled with anxious forebodings. Vague rumours were spread abroad of peace with France and King Charles, and restoration to the favour of the Church; but these obscure and carefully promulgated reports were explained by the disarming of the fleet, the dismissal of the mercenaries without any consequent reduction of the taxes, and above all by the bands of foreign friars,

[1] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 124. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 20, 24. Montaner, ch. 181. A diploma of Charles of Valois in the Archives of France, J, 587, 18, given in April, 1293, announces that a meeting was to take place between the legates of Charles II., Philip the Fair, and James of Majorca, and those of the three brothers, James, Frederick, and Peter; and he at the same time promises to renounce his claims upon Aragon, should this prove necessary for the conclusion of peace.

who, unchecked by the authorities, spread their sinister influence throughout the island, spying out secrets, diffusing fables, seeking access to the consciences of the people, insinuating themselves into the confidence of both nobles and citizens. So that a parliament being assembled on the arrival of Gilbert, the will of the nation manifested itself openly. Very few gave their assent; the best and wisest denounced the peace as obviously iniquitous; and it was decided to despatch ambassadors to ascertain the real intentions of the king. In the name of the whole Sicilian people were elected three Messinese, Frederick Rosso and Pandolf di Falcone, knights, and Roger Geremia, a jurist; and three Palermitans, John of Caltagirone and Hugh Talach, knights, and Thomas Guglielmo. At Barcelona they presented themselves before King James.

He received them cheerfully and cordially; conducted them into his most private apartments; and said that having grown up amongst the Sicilians, and learnt their ideas, customs and usages, he left them to judge whether he could possibly desire anything but the good of their country, and would discuss with them not as a

sovereign but as a fellow-citizen, the negotiations which had been devised for their common honour and profit. The ambassadors, who were not deceived by these blandishments, looked at one another; but Falcone, a shrewd and eloquent orator, came at once to the point. "Justice," said he, "and truth which is its companion, are required in disposing of the fate of nations. The name of peace is dear to all; but it is indeed an ill-devised fable that Rome and the House of Anjou, after twelve years of outrages, of terror, and of bloodshed, should now peaceably renounce Sicily." He then touched upon the suspicions excited by the measures of the king's government, and upon the manifest treachery of proffering the office of Senator of Rome to the Infant Don Frederick, in order to lure him from the island. He admonished the king not to look for durable peace in Aragon at the price of delivering up a noble people bound and fettered; nor to hope to save his name from infamy. And if, he continued, this disputed kingdom were indeed an embarrassment to him, why not suffer it to provide for itself by bestowing the crown upon Frederick, not by right of succession, but by the election of

the people, the happiest omen for all future rulers of Sicily. But should James and Frederick, and all the princes of Aragon, draw back afraid, the Sicilians would call upon another Frederick, a scion of the house of Suabia; they would adopt the most desperate expedients rather than lower their eagles before the detested lilies.[1] And should the Almighty refuse to bless their arms; should they at length be crushed and conquered, their last strokes should quiver in the breasts of their own wives and children; and together with these beloved victims they would perish in the flames of their burning cities. But James was not to be moved; he lauded the zeal of the ambassadors, extolled the fidelity of his own predecessors to the nations they governed, and added that he, who was of the same blood, so far from abandoning Sicily, would fight in her cause so long as he retained the breath of life.[2] With

[1] Thus we read in Neocastro, from whom I have taken the whole speech of Falcone, which he perhaps heard from the orator himself.

[2] Bart. de Neocastro, ch. 124. Most of our historians confound this embassy with that of 1295, recording only one. They do not observe that Neocastro states this one to have taken place in 1293, and James to have denied the treaty; while Speciale and the diplomas show that the other took place in 1295, that

these sounding words he took leave of them, and not long after, in November, he met king Charles at Junquera and Paniças, where he concluded a treaty, the terms of which were more advantageous to him and more iniquitous towards Sicily than those concluded by Alfonso and denounced by himself three years previously. They were kept profoundly secret, their formal ratification being deferred until the election of a new Pope, and until they had succeeded in cajoling, not only the people of Sicily, but also the Infant Don Frederick,[1] whose power had much increased, because when the Sicilians obtained a clearer view of the danger that menaced them of again falling under the Angevin yoke, and of the perfidious weakness of James, their detestation increasing more and more for the foreign domination which under Charles had trampled upon

the king then acknowledged the treaty, and that the names of the ambassadors were different. To correct this error, it is sufficient to reflect on the words of Neocastro, from which it is evident that he wrote while James was still King of Sicily; while every one knows that his reign in the island ended with the second embassy, and that this historian takes leave of us precisely at the first reply of the king, without mentioning Celestine V., Boniface VIII., nor the other persons and events which preceded the treaty of Anagni.

[1] Zurita, Annals of Aragon, book v. ch. 8.

them so cruelly, and under the king of Aragon was plotting such treachery against them, they came to the firm determination of once more asserting their independence, and clung but the more closely to the young Frederick.

Upon this came the election of the new Pope, which dissensions in the college of cardinals had delayed for more than two years, and which was now brought on hurriedly on the 5th of July, 1294, the conclave resorting to the disastrous expedient of selecting an inefficient man. But beyond all conception inefficient in temporal matters was Peter da Morrone, a hermit of the Abbruzzi, for whom the poverty and austerity of his life had procured the reputation of sanctity.[1] As soon as the election was known to the court of Aragon, James hastened the ratification of the treaty. On the 18th of July he sent Ramondo Villaragut to Sicily to make another attempt to win over Frederick and his mother, and the most influential of the Sicilians. He sought to withdraw from the counsels of Frederick, Conrad Lancia an Blasco Alagona, intimate friends of the young

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1294, § 3. Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 5, and all the other contemporary historians.

prince, by commanding their immediate return to Catalonia; while he substituted one of his creatures, Ramondo Alamanno, for Conrad, both in his office of Grand Justiciary, and also in the command of the Castle of San Giuliano.[1] Meanwhile the war, which up to this time had been carried on languidly, as already at an end between the sovereigns, closed with a truce.[2] Charles II. recovered possession of Cotrone through intrigue,[3] and in order to obtain a reputation for munificence he granted immunities to several towns, which had before been harassed by the enemy.[4]

Celestine V. (such was the name chosen by

[1] Zurita, Annals of Aragon, book v. ch. 8.

[2] This is not stated by any chronicler, but is proved beyond a doubt by diplomas in the Royal Archives of Naples, of the 26th October, 8th and 23d November, and 1st and 11th December, 8th Ind. (1294.)

[3] Diploma given at Aquila the 7th September, 1294. Cotrone had been brought back to its allegiance by means of one Ugone, surnamed Rosso, of Soliaco. The king by this diploma confirmed whatever he might have promised in favour of the city: granted pardon, security of property and even, for four years, immunity from collections, taxes, and subventions, the right of collecting wood in the forests, and other similar favours. Royal Archives of Naples, register marked 1294, 1295.

[4] Diplomas in favour of Castro Simero, in Calabria, 14th September; mentioning the damage sustained by Positano, 21st November; in favour of Scala, Sorrento, and Ravello, 11th December, 8th Ind. (1294.) Royal Archives of Naples, register marked 1294, 1295.

Peter da Morrone) chose to be consecrated at Aquila in his native Abbruzzi; which town he entered mounted on an ass, in token of humility, but his stirrups held by two kings, Charles II. of Naples, and Charles Martel of Hungary, who, with a mixture of piety and design, paid their court to him with great assiduity, and with such success that, won by this artful policy, Celestine, in spite of the opposition of the sacred college, transferred the seat of the papacy to Naples; created many cardinals, who were either French, or of the French party; and diverged so widely from the counsels and customs of the Roman Court, that monastic historians of the day, with a play of words on the usual formula, declared that he issued his decrees in the fulness of his simplicity, not of his power. Yet, although prompted by the court of Naples, the Pope rendered good service to Sicily.

With the hackneyed pretext of the deliverance of Jerusalem, and of making Sicily the base of operations in the war, on the 1st of October, 1294,

[1] Jacopo da Varagine, part xii. ch 9, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. Francesco Pipino, book iv. ch. 10, in Muratori, ibid. Tolomeo da Lucca, Hist. Eccl. book xxiv. ch. 29—32, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 5.

the Pope ratified the treaty of Junquera, in which Charles bound himself to obtain for James and his kingdom full absolution from excommunication, remission of all the offences which the princes and people of Aragon and the people of Sicily might have committed against the House of Anjou and the Holy See, and the restitution of the kingdom of Aragon, on the same terms that it had been held by Peter before his excommunication; for which purpose Charles was to procure the renunciation of the King of France and of Charles of Valois. James was to restore to Charles all his hostages, together with the Calabrias and the islands near Naples. He stipulated to replace Sicily, with Malta and the other adjacent islands, in the power of the Church within the term of three years, from the 1st of November, 1294, on condition that the Church should keep them for a year in her own hands, and should not cede them to any one without the knowledge of James; and a shameful consequence of this was the last clause, that if the Sicilians resisted he should use force to subdue them.[1]

[1] Bull of Celestine, in Lünig, Codex Ital. Dipl. vol. ii. Naples and Sicily, No. 63; and in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1284, § 15.

These terms having been ratified, Celestine granted to King Charles, for the defence of his kingdom and recovery of the island, the ecclesiastical tithes of the French provinces for four years, and those of England and other regions beyond the seas for one year. Not long after he summoned James himself to Ischia, and wrote to him styling his marriage with Isabella of Castile a deadly sin by reason of consanguinity, and commanding him to break off that union in order to espouse a daughter of King Charles, who was likewise his kinswoman.[1] To such scandals did the pious Celestine give rise; nor was he even dexterous in turning them to account, when he set so long a term for the reduction of Sicily, and did nothing to secure the submission of the people, or to compose the differences between France and Aragon, so that the treaty became null and void as to its results.

This inclined Charles to favour the ambition of Benedict Gaetani of Anagni, who, from an advocate in the papal courts of law, had risen to grea influence, and was made notary of the Pope, and afterwards cardinal. He was persevering, proud, and of great capacity in state affairs. It was not

[1] Briefs of the 1st, 2d, 5th, 7th and 8th October, 1294, in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1294, § 15.

long since he had had sharp words at Perugia with the King of Naples, whose favour he now gained by telling him plainly, that Celestine had the will, but not the ability to serve the House of Anjou, but that he would have both the will, the ability, and the power. To Celestine the papacy was a heavy burden, both from conscientious scruples and from hearing the constant murmurs of the cardinals, so that it was not very difficult to cajole him into abdication; we even read that Gaetani practised upon the simple hermit, when shut up in his own apartments, the gross fraud of feigning a voice from heaven commanding him to lay aside the tiara. He therefore abdicated, notwithstanding the feigned entreaties of the Court, and the sincere ones of the people of Naples.[1] By the influence of the former, on Christmas eve, 1294, a new Pope was elected at Naples, in the person of Gaetani, that famous Boniface VIII., who rose like a fox, reigned like

[1] This is the solitary example of a papal abdication. Dante places this Pope in his Limbo, amongst those

"Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo."

Inf. c. 3.

By some theologians it was pretended that the act of abdication was illegal; hence Boniface was extremely jealous of his living predecessor, whose person he imprisoned in the castle of Fumone in Campania (the Terra di Lavoro), where he died in 1296.—*Note furnished by the Editor.*

a lion, and died like a dog, according to the prophecy, compiled after the event and attributed to Celestine, as if uttered by him to Boniface in the prison in which he was confined by the command of his successor, where he ended his days shortly after, not without suspicion that his death had been hastened by violence. And now that, according to Speciale, power was joined to cunning and sagacity, Boniface turned his whole attention to the disentanglement of the intricate knot of the Sicilian question.[1]

Beyond the Alps, the ambassadors of France, and of James, backed by the influence of the new Pope, once more took counsel together, to smooth away the obstacles remaining between them;[2] Boniface reserving the weightier question

[1] Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 5, 6. Francesco Pipino, Chron. book iv. ch. 40, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. Ferreto Vicentino, ibid. p. 966—969. Tolomeo da Lucca, Hist. Eccl. in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 1203. Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 20. Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1294, §§ 20, 23; and 1295, §§ 11—15.

"Guardai, e vidi l' ombra di colui,
Che fece per villate il gran rifiuto."

Dante, Inf. c. 3.

"Se' tu si tosto di quell' aver sazio,
Per lo qual non temesti torre a 'nganno
La bella donna, e di poi farne strazio?"

Inf. c. 19.

With the commentary of Benvenuto da Imola, repeating the same historical traditions as the authorities quoted above.

[2] Zurita, Annals of Aragon, book v. ch. 9.

to himself, as if to make trial of his powers. Ambassadors from Frederick having been sent to, or demanded by, him soon after his accession, they (Manfred Lancia, and Roger Geremia) were graciously received, and dismissed with brilliant promises, the Pope resolving to negotiate the main points with Frederick himself; to whom, as it was found impossible to remove him from Sicily by force, the dignity of Senator of Rome, or some other equally feeble lure, had been held out in vain; but Boniface now thought to dazzle him by the proffer of a beautiful bride, and of an empire. He despatched to him one of his chaplains, with a brief dated the 27th of February, 1295, requesting him to present himself at Rome, with John of Procida, Roger Loria, and the principal citizens of all the Sicilian cities, furnished with full powers by the people. The nuncio himself was the bearer of the necessary safe-conducts. Frederick, purposing obedience, immediately wrote on the subject to the divers cities.

Here is an evident proof of the importance retained, or resumed at this crisis, by the municipal and popular element restored by the revolution; the value of which is moreover nobly displayed in the epistle addressed to Frederick by

the municipality of Palermo, and confirmed by the mouth of three envoys, Niccolò di Maida, a knight, Peter di Filippo and Philip di Carastone, judges. In this letter the Infant is reminded of the real character of the Court of Rome; and that God Almighty had judged between it and Sicily, in the series of brilliant victories gained by the few over the many; he is therefore admonished to tranquillize the anxiety of the citizens, and not to rush into the snare of this pretexted visit to the Pope, from which nothing but evil could accrue to him.[1] But Frederick, with the naturally timid ambition of those whose position is already lofty, and who hence love better to be cajoled by the powerful, than to build up great but contested fortunes on popular support, obstinately persisted in his intention of going. He embarked on board the fleet with Procida, who urged him to the course least honourable to him, with Loria, and with many others of the Sicilians most renowned in council, or in field. He landed in the States of the Church at the foot of Monte Circeo, soon

[1] Diplomas inserted in the Anonymi Chron. Sic. in di Gregorio, Bibl. Arag. vol. i. pp. 163, 168.

after the day appointed by the Pope, and not finding Boniface there, he proceeded to join him at Velletri.

Boniface now assumed the guise of paternal benignity. When Frederick knelt before him, he raised him up, taking his head between both hands he kissed him affectionately, and seeing how vigorously and gracefully he bore the weight of his armour, he began to compliment him, saying: "It is easy to see, fair youth, that from a child you have been inured to this heavy burden." Then, turning to Loria, he asked him without any appearance of anger, whether he were that enemy of the Church famous for so many bloody battles? to which Loria replied; "Father, such was the will of the Popes!" After this cordial reception, they proceeded to business. As the price of the abandonment of Sicily, the Pope promised Frederick to wife the young Catherine de Courtenay, daughter of Philip, titular Emperor of the East, with her the right to that empire, and, to assist him towards its re-conquest, a military force, and within four years time, a sum of 130,000 ounces of gold. It really appears as if Boniface had not miscalculated;

and that the youth, tempted by sounding words, and by the allurements of beauty, though unseen by him, inclined to give up into the hands of the enemy the people to whom he was bound by ties far stronger than those of his viceregal office. But with prudent caution he insisted on appointing a brief term for the fulfilment of the conditions, namely, the following September.[1] He returned full of joy to Sicily, having first had an interview at Ischia with Gilbert Cruyllas, and William Durford, envoys of James;[2] and left at the Court of Rome, or sent back thither to watch over his interests, Manfred Lancia and John of Procida.

Boniface, deeming himself thus secure of Frederick and of Sicily, brought the negotiations to a conclusion. Amongst the princes who took part in them, the two powers that had come to terms were Aragon and France. The former of these courts had the possession of Sicily, the latter the right to that of Aragon, as was now

[1] Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 21. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 53, *loc. cit.* Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, in Baluzio Op. cit. p. 578. The term of September is to be found in a brief of Boniface to Catherine de Courtenay, given the 27th of June, 1295, in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1295, §§ 29, 30.

[2] Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book v. ch. 12.

[3] Brief of Pope Boniface, in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1295, § 32.

openly declared setting aside the name of Charles of Valois: and it was for this that France had expended so much blood and treasure, had supplied the wants of James King of Majorca, and was now bound to obtain terms for him.

By this treaty the Pope obtained increased authority; Charles II., Sicily; James of Aragon, peace and infamy; James of Majorca, impunity for his rebellion against his brother; Charles of Valois, the exchange of an empty title for a small atrimony;[1] and France nothing, except the honour of restoring to the House of Anjou all the possessions it had once held. The ambassadors of Aragon, Naples and France, having met in presence of the Pope at Anagni, on the 5th of June, 1295, they renewed the treaty ratified by Celestine, only changing the term of the surrender of Sicily and Malta to the Church for a much earlier one, and stipulating that, if necessary, James should do whatever the Pope might desire for the subjugation of the island. In return for this, the renunciation of all claims upon Aragon

[1] In January, 1296, Philip the Fair gave to Charles of Valois his house in Paris "de Fligella." Charles II. had also granted him his houses in Paris, on the 2d of March, 1293, besides the dowry of his daughter. Archives of France, J, 377, 1, 2.

by Charles of Valois and the King of France had been placed in the hands of the Pontiff. James moreover obtained, that he should not be bound to restore the thirty thousand marks of silver, given by Charles to Alfonso, with the other securities, at the time of his liberation; that Charles should give him, with his daughter Blanche, a dowry of 100,000 marks; also, by a secret article, the investiture of Corsica and Sardinia, liberally bestowed upon him by Boniface, who had no right to them whatever. To the amnesty granted to all concerned in the revolution or in the Sicilian war, was added that of the Neapolitan exiles ever since the days of Charles I., with a clause for their continued enjoyment of whatever possessions they now held in Sicily. By another secret article James bound himself to furnish naval forces to be employed against England in the pay of France. The reintegration of the territory of which the King of Majorca had been despoiled, upon which the French insisted, was deferred for a time, because the Aragonese envoys had no authority to stipulate concerning it; but was finally concluded, as well as a dispute

touching the limits of the frontier between France and Catalonia.[1]

On the 21st of June Boniface VIII. formally ratified the treaty; granted a dispensation on account of consanguinity for the marriage of James and Blanche; renewed to King Charles the grant of the ecclesiastical tithes for the recovery of Sicily; and on the festival of St. John, in the midst of the holy rites, proclaimed, together with the peace, excommunication on whomsoever should dispute it. Owing to fresh suspicions,

[1] Zurita, Annals of Aragon, book v. ch. 10. Feliu, Anales de Cataluña, book xii. ch. 4, who gives the conditions mentioned in the text, quoting, for all in general, the documents in the Archives of Barcelona, adding that the conditions were kept secret in order to deceive the Sicilians. But it is worthy of remark, that Sicily is not mentioned in the treaty between James, Philip, and Charles of Valois, concluded by their commissioners at Anagni, in presence of the Pope, on the 20th of June, 1295. This treaty is published by Capmany, Memorias, &c. vol. iv. docum. 10; and there is a copy of it in the Archives of France, J, 589, 10. There is no mention made in it of the restitution of Sicily, which perhaps was stipulated secretly; for James had good reason to conceal his iniquity. The bull of Boniface of the 21st of June, does not quote all the conditions, but states that *inter cætera*, the cession of Sicily was stipulated. For the question of the confines, and restitution to the King of Majorca, see a brief of Boniface to Philip the Fair, dated the 20th of June, in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1295, §§ 26—28. See also the note in this chapter concerning restitution of the property of John of Procida.

he reinforced these anathemas with still stronger penalties, on the 27th of June, after the departure for Sicily of Lancia and Procida, to whom he commended a monk of the order of the Preaching Friars, sent to confirm Queen Constance in obedience to the will of the Pontiff. He despatched the new Archbishop of Messina to Frederick, with authority to conclude every thing, and receive the island into the bosom of the Church; and, meanwhile, wrote with his own hand to Catherine de Courtenay, that, in concert with King Charles, he had promised her hand to the valiant Frederick, admonishing her to incline her heart and mind to this union; to give ear to the counsels of the Abbot of San Germano and of another prelate sent to her for this express purpose by the paternal care of the Pontiff; and to set forth speedily on her journey to Italy to hasten to the arms of her husband. He moreover urged Philip the Fair to act as mediator, and kept Frederick minutely informed of all these proceedings, in order to incline him more and more to obedience and to peace.[1]

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1295, §§ 24, 29—36, where we find the diplomas of Boniface of the 20th, 21st, and 27th of June, and 2d, 4th, and 5th of July. Ducange, Hist. of the Empire of Constantinople, docum. p. 36. Also, Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 51; Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 20; and Montaner, ch. 181.

Lastly, he sought to bind the admiral to the new order of things. The wealth, power and arrogance to which he had risen by the concessions of the Kings of Aragon in Sicily and Valencia; what he had himself acquired by prizes, plunder, ransoms, trade and barter; the glory he had obtained in arms; and the fear inspired by his impetuous nature, had made him perhaps the foremost among the mighty men who had it in their power to save or to destroy Sicily at this crisis.[1] Negotiating with him therefore

[1] Roger Loria possessed in Sicily, the fiefs of Aci, Castiglione, Francavilla, Novara, Linguagrossa, Tremestieri, San Pietro sopra Patti, Ficarra, and Tortorici; and in Spain, those of Cocentayna, Alcoy, Ceta, Calis, Altea, Navarres, Puy de Santa Maria, Balsegue, and Castronovo, named in a diploma of James, given at Valencia, the 5th of December, 1297, granting to Loria absolute power in those towns. See the diploma in Quintana, Vidas, &c. vol. ii. p. 192. We have not indeed manifest proofs of peculation against the great admiral, but very strong suspicions; for it is clear that either he was looked upon as a man of unexampled integrity, or he was known to be a defrauder of the public treasure, and tolerated from necessity. The two diplomas of James given at Barcelona the 7th of March, probably 1291, and at Rome the 2d of April, 1297, (see Quintana, vol. ii. pp. 178, 180,) place this alternative beyond a doubt. For the first absolves the heirs of the admiral from all responsibility regarding his administration, should he die without giving account of it; the second entrusting him with the management of vast sums of money, states that he is to render only a final account, for which his word shall be sufficient without any documents. By this diploma, Roger is elected admiral for life in all the kingdoms

first in person, and afterwards through Boniface of Calamandrano, the Pope granted him as a fief of the Church, the Island of Gerba, of which he had obtained possession with the arms of Sicily, and of which he now wished to make a new Christian principality, or nest of corsairs, in the Levant, which would be rendered formidable by the warlike valour of the admiral and of the warriors of the Sicilian fleet who would join themselves to him.[1] Thus Loria was tempted on the one hand

subject to James. To him is entrusted the charge of the construction of vessels of war; authority to have as many as two galleys armed, taking the money from the royal chests, without a special order from the king; and the administration of the fund for the pay of the whole fleet. Besides this, the right is granted him of issuing letters of marque for privateers, with civil and penal jurisdiction over all those connected with the fleet during the armament; authority to exchange the captains of the galleys; the privilege of exporting all lawful merchandise whatsoever, purchased with his own money; a salary of sixty *sotbarch* a day; a right to the person and property of the hostile admiral if taken in battle; the articles that were not new belonging to the captured galleys, with part of the merchandise; the useless hulks of the royal galleys; a twentieth part of the Saracen captives; a tithe of the new tributes imposed upon the Saracens; the spoils of shipwrecks; with the other usual prerogatives of admirals. These concessions were, it is true, a part of the price of the treason of Loria; but there seems no doubt that, partly by right and partly by abuse, he exercised in Sicily the greater part of the power and of the inordinate privileges and profit, that were promised to him under the banners of Aragon.

[1] Bull of Boniface, in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1295, § 37.

by his estates in Spain, the sovereignty of Gerba, and the powerful league that would menace Sicily in case of resistance; on the other, by his possessions in Sicily, the honour of his name, weariness of peace, covetousness of plunder, affection for a brave people his companions for twelve years in strife and in victory; above all, by the workings of ambition; for if he did not demand the title, he aspired to the power of sovereign of Sicily, which he knew that he should have, as the principal supporter of Frederick, should the war break forth afresh. Hence the admiral listened, indeed, to the offers of lesser greatness in case of peace; but was well disposed to break it, and to cast in his lot with that of Frederick and of Sicily.

The fortunes of Sicily, which trembled on the brink of destruction, owing to the abandonment of the king, the vicegerent, the admiral, and all the most powerful of the nobles, might have been restored by a fresh exertion of popular vigour; but they were saved either by the influence of Philip the Fair, or by the effect of chance, which induced the young Catherine de Courtenay to reject the alliance with Frederick, sending word to the Pontiff in reply, that a princess without

territory ought not to wed a prince without territory. And in this decision she obstinately persisted, notwithstanding the efforts of the Pope.[1] Frederick, perceiving that he had been outwitted, now devoted himself heart and soul to the more solid and attainable prospects held out to him by Sicily, where the news of the treaty, having transpired, had re-awakened all the emotions of 1292, with greater fury, owing to the greater certainty and imminence of the danger, and disgust at the perfidy which had concealed it. Hence the Infant sought to possess himself of the crown; but he wished it to appear that it were forced upon him, and was, moreover, restrained by the foreign faction, who, under the mask of loyalty to James, were betraying for filthy lucre the country which supported them. This faction, on becoming aware of the intentions of Frederick, and of the impetuous desire of the Sicilian people, at first proclaimed that the renunciation of the king was a fable published by Frederick, in order to usurp the crown. To increase their influence, they selected

[1] Brief of Boniface, in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1296, §§ 8, 9. Du Cange, Hist. de l'Empire de Constantinople, ed. 1657, p. 204, attributes this refusal to the counsels of Philip the Fair.

as their chief the only one amongst them who, probably, acted from motives of conscience and loyalty, Ramondo Alamanno, the Grand Justiciary; and amongst them were besides the noted names of Procida, Matthew di Termini, Manfred Chiaramonte, and many others. Seeing their artifices unsuccessful, they retired into their castles, and already threatened the country with civil war.

Queen Constance obviated this danger by the proposal that orators should once more be sent to Catalonia to ascertain the intentions of James. She therefore summoned a parliament, which elected for the purpose Cataldo Rosso, Santoro Bisalà, and Ugone Talach;[1] at the same time Frederick, perceiving intrigue and artifice to be henceforward in vain, openly engaged himself in parliament to the patriots, promising to reveal to them whatever should come to his knowledge concerning the treaties entered into by James with their enemies. He left those who called themselves loyalists confined by their own walls, and by the universal indignation of the people; and still retaining the name of Vicar of the king, but acting with far

[1] Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 22.

greater power, proceeded to traverse the whole island, to increase his influence and strengthen his party by opportune reforms, a vigilant administration of justice, and demonstrations of favour and benevolence.[1]

When the Sicilian orators reached Catalonia, the terms of peace had already been ratified by the cortes; King Charles and the pontifical legate were on their way with the bride to Perpignan and Peralada, and James was advancing to meet them by Gerona and Villa Bertram; which places, wasted by all the fearful excesses of the war, now rejoiced in the splendour of the nobles who followed in the train of the two kings, and in the multitude of the people who came, impatient for absolution from the anathemas of Rome, rejoicing, and calling Blanche the "Queen of the Holy Peace."[2] It was at Villa Bertram, on the 29th of October, when the train of his bride was already approaching, that the envoys from Sicily overtook

[1] Manifesto of Frederick, in Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 54. He states this promise to have been expressly made by Frederick to the Sicilians, in the parliament at Milazzo. This is probably the same parliament in which the ambassadors to James were elected, although Speciale does not mention the place.

[2] Montaner, ch. 182, who, for the credit of James, makes no mention of the Sicilian embassy.

King James. With pale and stern countenances they entered his presence, to confound him in the midst of these rejoicings, and before all the nobles of his realm. Having listened to the question of the Sicilian parliament, the king unhesitatingly acknowledged the treaty; on hearing which Cataldo Rosso exclaimed, "Behold, all ye that pass by, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow!"[1] and after these biblical lamentations, he, with his companions and the attendants on the Sicilian embassy, rent their garments, and broke forth into demonstrations of desperate grief; crying aloud to James, "Is not such cruelty unheard of, that a king should give up loyal subjects to be devoured by their enemies?" But after they had thus held up the conduct of the king to execration, they resumed their dignified and proud composure, and protested in open court: "That Sicily, forsaken by him, disowned King James's title to the crown; that she absolved herself from all oaths, fealty, and homage, and held herself free to adopt whatever form of government might best please her." The king was compelled to accept this protest; and the

[1] Jerem. Threni, c. i. v. 12.

ambassadors insisted upon, and obtained a diploma attesting it. On the same day, clad in mourning weeds, they turned their back upon the perfidious foreign court; but before they departed James had the audacity to say to them, that he commended his mother and sister to the Sicilians. "Of Frederick," he added, "I do not speak, for he is a knight, and well knows what is to be done, as you also know it;" at least so Frederick afterwards promulgated in Sicily. The ambassadors having embarked on their homeward voyage, encountered terrific stress of weather, which delayed their return, and altogether prevented that of Santoro Bisalà, who was wrecked on the coast of Provence, and detained there in captivity until ransomed by his Messinese fellow-citizens.[1] On the 30th of October, in Catalonia, James and his kingdom were re-admitted by the legate into the bosom of the Church; the king then proclaimed to the assembled cortes of Aragon the termination of the great Sicilian contest. On the same day Charles II. pronounced remission of all

[1] Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 22. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 52, 54, who gives a diploma, quoted likewise in Lunig, Cod. Ital. Dipl. vol. ii. Naples and Sicily, 64. Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, ch. 29.

11817

offences committed, and the renunciation of all property belonging to himself or his followers occupied during the war by James, his mother, Frederick, Peter, and all their barons and partisans. The following day James, removing to Figueras, restored to Charles his three sons with the other hostages, received his bride, and celebrated his marriage on the 1st of November.[1]

Meanwhile the anxiety in Sicily was great and general; but on the first certain intimation of what had occurred, and before the return of the ambassadors, Frederick, suddenly breaking off his progress through Val di Mazara, called a meeting at Palermo of all the counts, barons, knights, and syndics of the towns, on this side the Salso; to whom, as if in performance of the promise given at Milazzo, he announced the cession of the island, now no longer doubtful, the conclusion of peace, and the answer given to the ambassadors. Thereupon the deed was consummated, which, in order to save appearances, had been deferred up to this time. On the 11th of December, the

[1] Diploma quoted above. Also another of the 30th of October, 1295, in Testa, Vita di Federigo II. di Sicilia, docum. 5. See also Montaner, ch. 182.

parliament reverted to the first principles of the Revolution by unanimously conferring supreme power upon Frederick; but out of deference to the universal desire of the nation, it gave him only the title of Lord of the Island, reserving that of King to be bestowed by a more solemn vote; for which purpose it summoned a general assembly to meet at Catania on the 15th of January, where the cities and townships should be represented, not only by the syndics, but by a reasonable number of the inhabitants most distinguished for wealth, wisdom, or influence, with full powers to concur in this supreme act of sovereign power. Frederick, protesting the holiness of the cause, and commending himself to God and to the Sicilians, accepted the reins of government, and pledged himself to defend them with life and substance. He at first assumed the title of Lord of Sicily, and the following day he promulgated at once the intelligence from abroad and the recent deliberations, and entreated the municipalities to proceed without delay to the election of deputies to the parliament at Catania.[1]

[1] Diploma of the 12th of December, in Anon. Chron. Sic., and Lünig, *loc. cit.*

After this unanimous expression of national feeling, the faction of the dissentient barons was easily reduced. Roger Loria, Vinciguerra Palizzi, and many other nobles, proceeded to seek Ramondo Alamanno, who had fortified himself in the Castle of Caltanissetta; and he, having at first given evidence of his inclination by a cordial reception, and being certified of James's renunciation, yielded, together with all his party.[1] Orders from James were soon after received, recalling all the Catalans and Aragonese from Sicily, and enjoining the abandonment of the fortresses, which was executed in the name of the king by Ramondo Alamanno, and Berenger Villaragut, in the following form:—the officers, namely, advancing to the gates, demanded three times, in a loud voice, whether any one were there to take possession of the fortress in the name of the Holy Church of Rome. No one appearing to reply, they retired with the garrison, leaving the gates open, and the keys in the lock; the municipalities immediately taking possession of them in the name of Frederick.[2] These, and some other Spanish knights, returned to their own country. Many

[1] Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 23. [2] Montaner, ch. 184.

others remained in Sicily to follow the fortunes of Frederick, the chief of whom were Ugone degli Empuri and Blasco Alagona, who had fled the court of James after his renunciation. Other noble adventurers also were expected from Spain, in despite of James, who, according to the constitution of his kingdom, could not forbid them to take arms for whom they listed. Hence, Blasco, encouraging his companions, reminded them that their nation, boasting greater liberties than any other ruled by a monarch, obeyed not the will of a prince, but the dictates of justice and reason. They, moreover, explained the understood will of Peter, and the expressed one of Alfonso, into a proof that James could resign to the Church his own title to the kingdom of Sicily, but not that of another; and that Frederick had a full right to take possession of it.[1] With these arguments they succeeded but ill in throwing a colouring of legitimacy over a sovereignty which was in itself most legitimate; nor did they observe that it was to Constance alone that the throne could belong

[1] Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 22, 25. The return of the Catalans to their own country is mentioned by Montaner, ch. 184; and the supposed rights of Frederick, ch. 185.

by hereditary right; and that neither Peter nor James had, in fact, ascended it, otherwise than, as Frederick now did, by the election of the people.

To this solemn act Sicily affixed her seal, in despite of the Court of Rome, Naples, France, and Aragon, all leagued against her. On the 18th of January, 1296, in the cathedral of Catania, were assembled the representatives of the nation in great numbers, together with as many Aragonese and Catalan nobles as hoped more from fortune in Sicily than in their own country. Roger Loria was the first to speak; then Vinciguerra Palizzi, distinguished for genius and eloquence; and following their example, all with one accord proclaimed Frederick King, and decreed that the coronation should be celebrated at Palermo.[1] He was the second of this name who reigned in Sicily, but took the title of Frederick the Third, as being the third of the sons of Peter, or of the Aragonese kings of Sicily; or rather, perhaps, owing to a diplomatic error, it being supposed that the title of Frederick the Second

[1] Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 23.

belonged to Frederick of Suabia, second emperor, but first King of Sicily[1] of that name.

When Boniface was informed of the first steps taken by the parliament of Palermo, not being in a position to use force, he left no effort of artifice untried. He wrote to Frederick, on the 2d of January, reminding him of the negotiations of the preceding year; of his own solicitude to procure him both bride and territory; urging, that though Catherine had refused the alliance, she would give way before renewed entreaties; and, therefore, imploring and conjuring him, with every powerful argument he could devise, to desist from the usurpation of the throne. He sent admonitions to the same effect to Queen Constance, and on the same day addressed "to the Palermitans and other Sicilians" a brief, couched in the most conciliatory terms, stating how the Church of Rome, now that the beautiful island of Sicily had been resigned to her by James, would seek to heal her sorrows and to further the public weal, and would govern her independently, by means of a cardinal;

[1] Montaner, ch. 185, falls into this error, and states likewise Frederick's other motives for calling himself "Third," which do not merit repetition.

adding, that the Sicilians might select whichever of the brothers of the sacred college should be the most to their mind, and that him the Pope would send to rule over them. With these missives he charged the Bishop of Urgel, and that Boniface Calamandrano, who, for the last four years, had been traversing Europe in all directions, on account of the so-called negotiations for peace. They counted on the support of the faction of Alamanno and Procida, not being yet aware of its dispersion; and with these hopes Calamandrano landed in Sicily, shortly before, or shortly after, the parliament of Catania.[1] The practised negotiator discoursed to the citizens of the marvellous prosperity prepared for Sicily by the Pope; intrigued and strove to insinuate himself into their confidence; at length, seeing how strongly the tide set in Frederick's favour, he turned to his last resource—exhibited blank parchments with the papal seal affixed, and bade the Sicilians consult together, and whatever they should agree to ask—absolutions, pardons, immunities, franchises, privileges, or pledges—he would write upon the parchments, and the Pontiff would con-

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1296, §§ 7—10.

firm them. But the Messinese, far from being entrapped by so gross an artifice, made a mock at it, encouraged by Loria, Palizzi, and the other leaders; and Peter Ansalone, a prudent and elegant speaker, went without further demur to Calamandrano, and thus addressed him:—"Know," said he, "that the Sicilians will obey no foreign rule; know that they will have Frederick for their king; and see here! (added he, unsheathing his sword,) it is from this that the Sicilians look for peace, not from your lying parchments! Haste, and depart from Sicily, if you list not to die!" Boniface Calamandrano, writes Speciale, would not encounter martyrdom in the service of worldly ambition. Returning to Boniface, he declared to him that no hope remained but in the force of arms.[1]

[1] Nic. Speciale, book ii. ch. 24. Bull of Boniface VIII. given Ascension Day, year 2. Lünig, Cod. Ital. Dip. Sic. and Nap. No. 65.

CHAPTER XV.

CORONATION OF FREDERICK II. OF SICILY. — NEW CONSTITUTION BY WHICH A LARGE PORTION OF THE SOVEREIGN POWER IS VESTED IN THE PARLIAMENT.—FREDERICK CARRIES THE WAR INTO CALABRIA.—INCIPIENT DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE KING AND LORIA. — TAKING OF COTRONE. — MILITARY ACHIEVEMENTS IN TERRA D'OTRANTO.—BATTLE OF THE BRIDGE OF BRINDISI.— POPE BONIFACE STIRS UP JAMES AGAINST HIS BROTHER. — EMBASSY FROM JAMES. —PARLIAMENT AT PIAZZA.—BATTLE OF ISCHIA.—JAMES COMES TO ROME. — HIS SUMMONS TO LORIA. — REBELLION OF THE LATTER AGAINST FREDERICK.—QUEEN CONSTANCE WITHDRAWS HIM FROM SICILY, WITH JOHN OF PROCIDA.—FROM THE SPRING OF 1296, TO THE SPRING OF 1297.

At the commencement of spring, there poured into Palermo from all parts of Sicily, the notables both civil and ecclesiastic—the syndics of the cities, together with private citizens, vassals, and populace, in unprecedented numbers, to be present at the impending new and signal act of independence—the coronation of Frederick. On Easter-eve the streets of the capital, the porticoes, and the churches were strewn with myrtle, and the palaces adorned with a thousand fanciful

decorations of cloth of gold and silver. The illuminations gave to the city the brightness of day; and during the celebration of vespers, the cathedral blazed with the light of countless waxen torches, which, according to Speciale, were of the size of columns; the noise of trumpets, horns, and kettle-drums, as if emblematical of war triumphing over the charms of peace, overpowered the harmony of the softer instruments and the joyous songs of the people, who passed the whole night in these rejoicings. At early morning of the 25th of March, 1296, Frederick was crowned and anointed king of Sicily in the cathedral; he was reconducted to the palace, amid the loud applause of the multitude, on horseback, in his royal robes, with the crown on his head, the sceptre in his left hand, and the orb in his right. He himself conferred the honour of knighthood upon more than three hundred youths of noble blood; created counts; bestowed fiefs and offices; raised Roger Loria to the dignity of High Admiral, and Conrad Lancia to that of Great Chancellor in the room of John of Procida; and made Blasco Alagona, Brother Arnold de Poncio a Calabrian deserter, William

of Cartigliano, and other tried warriors, captains of the host. Then followed the celebration of public games, suited to the age, and to the war-like temper of the nation—shooting at the mark, feats of horsemanship, and jousts; at the palace open table was kept for all comers; and these festivities continued for a fortnight.[1] It was at that time perhaps, in the first flush of exultation, and with the sanguine spirit of one who had just cast the die of a great enterprise, that Frederick indited a Provençal poem, addressed to his faithful follower Ugone degli Empuri, who replied to him in the same metre and rhyme. The verses of both show the fearless courage with which the young king went forth to the war; his trust in the Sicilian nation; his hope in the aid of the Spanish adventurers; and his suspicions of the King of Aragon, vacillating between family interests which inclined him to support his brother, and the proffers and menaces of the enemy which drew him in the contrary direction.

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 1. Montaner, ch. 135. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 54, from which it would appear that John of Procida was confirmed in the office of Great Chancellor; but this is corrected by two diplomas published by Testa, Vita di Federigo II. docum. 8, 15.

Frederick seems almost to defy man and fate to hurl him from the throne; Ugone would appear to have had more faith in the courage than in the ability and intellect of the new sovereign. Both the compositions, if of no great poetic merit, are valuable to history as faithfully pourtraying the mind of Frederick and his political situation.[1]

The constitution of the state was likewise remodelled at this period. Peter and James had restored the wise laws of the Normans, had reformed abuses, and moderated burdens; but Frederick, counselled or compelled by the exigencies of the times, went on to develope the political rights of the nation far beyond the limits set by the Normans or Suabians, so that, if the names were unchanged, the civil institutions were nevertheless so much improved that Sicily derived no unworthy recompense from the Vespers. In the preamble to the constitution, Frederick promised, and that not in idle mockery, to observe justice and liberality, as enjoined by the Almighty upon the monarchs of the earth. The guilt of James, and the equivocal steps which he himself had been induced to take with regard to the Pope, after

[1] Document III.

having pledged himself to the Sicilians, now led him to swear solemnly, by his own honour and the awful judgments of God, that he would struggle to the utmost of his power to maintain the present state of Sicily; that neither the ambition of further conquest, nor any other motive, should deter him from her defence; and that he would not apply to the Court of Rome for absolution from these oaths, according to the unjustifiable practice of the age. In guarantee of this he bound himself by another and still more stringent condition, namely, that neither with the Church of Rome, nor with any other potentate, would he ever enter into a league, or make peace or war, except by the consent of the nation. In the same manner he shared the legislative power with the representatives of the people. He decreed that on All Saints' day of every year a general parliament, composed of the counts, barons, and syndics of the communes, (of the prelates no mention is here made,) should assemble, to provide, conjointly with the king, for the administration of government; and that the king should be bound like any other individual by the laws decreed by himself and the parliament.

He gave to the latter controul over the magistrates and public officials; accusations were to be preferred by the syndics, penalties inflicted by the whole parliament. The whole parliament likewise, the syndics of the cities inclusive, were to elect annually, what we should in these days call the High Court of Peers, composed of twelve Sicilian nobles; a tribunal from which there was no appeal, and which was, independent of every other magistrate, to take cognizance of the criminal causes of the barons; an important privilege, dating from the time of the Normans, and revived now that the authority of the nobles and of the parliament was in the ascendant.

Frederick liberally confirmed the franchises and privileges granted by the Suabians, and by his own Aragonese predecessors, providing that doubtful cases should be interpreted in favour of the subject. Nor did he conclude this code of civil laws without reforming those concerning cases of high treason, which depend in a great measure upon political institutions, and, according to the nature of the government, bear either a character of mild restraint, or of blind and ruthless vengeance. So that the right of

accusation was withdrawn from private individuals and vested in the sovereign, and the choice permitted to the criminal, whether he would be judged by the common law, by the code of the Emperor Frederick, or by the very liberal ordinances of Barcelona. Lastly, the king enacted that, in case of confiscation of property for high treason, the wife should continue to receive the jointure to which she was entitled by civil law, or a provision for the maintenance of herself and her daughters. Being moreover desirous at the commencement of his reign to efface every shadow of party, he strictly forbade the use of the epithets, traitor, rebel, guelf, or *ferracano*, which were regarded as insults in those days of absolute coincidence between public opinion and the spirit of the government. Such was the first book of the ordinances of Frederick.[1]

The second contains but few reforms of abuses in the administration of justice, because for these James had already amply provided; but the statute is worthy of remark which decreed that the justiciaries deputed to take cognizance of criminal

[1] Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia, Costituzioni di Federigo II. book i. ch. 1—6.

causes throughout the whole island, (except in Messina and Palermo, which were privileged to have special magistrates,) should be Sicilians, noble, wealthy, in the pay of the treasury, and to be changed every year.[1] There are moreover what we should call police regulations, amongst which we find those for the constitution of the burgher guard in the townships of the royal demesne; and one decreeing that every man found in the streets without a light after the third bell,[2] should be mulcted to the amount of an augustal of gold.[3] A further advance was made in other branches of civil administration, by statutes enacting unity of weights and measures, if not throughout the whole kingdom, at least in each of the regions into which Sicily was divided, namely, to the east and west of the Salso;[4] and that in the

[1] Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia, Costituzioni di Federigo II. book i. ch. 7, 8.

[2] All decrees of the government were carried into execution at the sound of a bell. After the "terzo Tocco," a penalty was incurred by the refractory.—*Trans.*

[3] Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia, Costituzioni di Federigo II. book i. ch. 17. Ch. 16, also contains a police ordinance permitting counts, barons, and men-at-arms to wear sword and dagger. The 19th, relieves citizens from the obligation of escorting prisoners.

[4] Anciently the river Gela, or Imera.

former should be used the "tumolo" of Syracuse, and "quintal"[1] of Messina; in the latter, those of Palermo.[2] How far the Sicilians of those days were advanced in ideas of political economy, may be gathered from the law compelling the churches to sell, or grant upon long leases, within a twelvemonth whatever farms might have come into their hands by bequests or otherwise; so that the neglected state of these possessions, termed mortmain, might not be a clog upon the industry of the country. The private patrimony of ecclesiastics was subjected, like that of every other citizen, to the public imposts; and the taxes were more fairly apportioned amongst the inhabitants of each commune, which was the only reform left wanting, after those of James, in the regulation of the revenue.[3] It was further enacted that the officers of the exchequer should all be Sicilians, competent to the discharge of their office, and

[1] The "quintal" appears to be both a measure and a weight of 100 lbs. The "tumolo" is the 16th part of a "salma," or load (corn measure). Being a measure, its weight depends on the quality of the grain, of which the best weighs 17½ "rotoli." The rotolo weighs 2⅔ lbs.—*Trans.*

[2] Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia, Cost. di Federigo II. book i. ch. 20.

[3] Ibid. ch. 21, 22, 24.

compelled to do so in person, and the time and manner was fixed in which they should render an account of their administration.[1]

In the third book, turning his attention to the feudal system, Frederick pledged himself to grant anew the fiefs that should have lapsed to the crown; and he still further gratified the barons by deviating from the laws of the Emperor Frederick, and indeed from all feudal order, by permitting the alienation of fiefs on payment of a tithe to the treasury, and the fulfilment of some other unimportant conditions. He confirmed and even somewhat extended the enactments of James, regarding the succession of collaterals and the moderate limits of military service, and improved the condition of the seamen of the fleet.[2] Thus the nation obtained the right of making peace and war, that of legislation, moderate burdens, a more rapid and lenient administration of justice, public security, and favour for agriculture and commerce; and considering the times, no slight praise is merited by the law concerning the

[1] Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia, Cost. di Federigo II. book i. ch. 31, 32.

[2] Ibid. ch. 27—30, 33.

alienation of fiefs, which, whatever may have been its object, served to augment the freedom of property. Frederick solemnly swore to observe these ordinances, which he formally confirmed in the last chapter. Soon after he similarly confirmed the three privileges granted by James to the Catalans trading in Sicily; and extended to all the Spanish subjects of his brother those granted specially to the citizens of Barcelona. There is thus a remarkable resemblance between the commencements of the reigns of James and of Frederick, because both found themselves subjected to the pressure of the same circumstances in Sicily, and both hoped to obtain from the private interest of the Aragonese subjects the assistance denied them by that of the monarch.[1]

Frederick then turned his thoughts to war. The last meeting of that parliament was held at Palermo, where the notables being seated to the right and left of the throne, and the syndics of the communes opposite to it, the king delivered a harangue couched in terms of humility, and ascribing to God all the power that he possessed.

[1] Diploma of the 3d of April, 1296, published by Testa, Vita di Federigo II. di Sicilia, docum. 8.

He concluded by stating that the enemy, who had now regained courage, were besieging Rocca Imperiale in Calabria, and that they must be pursued in every quarter of the mainland; a few days more of warlike toil would procure for Sicily the reward of a durable peace; and already in imagination he beheld them rushing to the battle and returning in triumph, bathed once more in the blood of the foe. His words produced so stirring an effect upon the minds of his hearers, that not waiting for him to conclude, and without regard to order or decorum, they broke forth into one universal shout of "War upon the enemy! War for our liberty!" and the deliberations turned to acclamations. The people, applauding yet more vehemently, demanded arms; they were animated, not exhausted, by fourteen years of warfare.

The king, taking horse for Messina, was received with the same joyful affection at Polizzi, Nicosia, Randazzo, and in all the other towns through which he passed; especially at Messina, at that time the only rival of Palermo in might and valour. At some distance from the city the

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 2.

sovereign was met by a procession, glittering with banners and pennons and gay attire, consisting of the men of the law, held in much honour amongst that highly cultivated people; the nobles clad in silks, mounted on horses whose housings were of cloth of gold; the clergy chanting psalms; and nearer the city troops of maids and matrons sumptuously arrayed, and adorned with gems and perfumes of the East. Frederick entered the city through streets decked with hangings and strewn with flowers, beneath a canopy borne by nobles, and preceded by heralds who proclaimed his praises, amid the responding cheers of the escort and of the people; even infants in the arms of their mothers, says Speciale, joining in the applause. Dismounting at the palace, his mother and his sister, who tenderly loved him, for the first time hailed him king. He confirmed to the citizens of Messina the privilege of trading in the import and export of provisions throughout the whole of Sicily, which in those days of prohibitive systems was a very great one, and had been granted to them by the Emperor Frederick in the last year of the twelfth century.[1]

[1] Diploma given at Messina the 15th of May, 1296, published

Loria, aided by the general alacrity of the nation, equipped the fleet with admirable expedition. Nor was it long before the king, displaying in war for the first time, the black eagles of Suabia on a white field, quartered with the arms of Aragon, (*paly or, and gules,*) crossed the strait with a powerful force, and was welcomed with great rejoicings at Reggio;[1] for this city, with some others in Calabria, had kept their allegiance to Sicily, notwithstanding the decrees of James. A greater number, however, had been lost, which the valiant Blasco Alagona was unable to recover, on account of the insufficiency of his forces; though he kept the enemy on the alert, and pressed the siege of Squillaci.

It was upon this city, therefore, that Frederick directed his march, after collecting his forces at Reggio. On his first view of the position of Squillaci, he inquired if it had any supplies of water besides those derived from the two rivers at the foot of the hill, and being answered in the negative, he sent for the seamen of the

by de Vio, Privilegi di Palermo, p. 35, and by Testa, Vita di Federigo II. docum. 15.

[1] Nic. Specciale, book iii. ch. 3, 4. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 55.

fleet, and stationed them along the steep declivity which slopes from the town to the river, occupying all the passes around. So that the citizens, parched with thirst, and looking down from the height upon the clear waters of the river to which access was denied them, rushed desperately forth to battle with our troops; but were defeated and driven back into the town by Matthew di Termini, whereupon, seeing no other alternative but death from thirst, they delivered themselves up to Frederick.[1] Leaving Squillaci, he halted awhile near Rocchella to consider his plan of operations against Count Peter Ruffo, who had fortified himself in Catanzaro, and held the whole province in subjection.

Here a most unhappy discord declared itself between the Sicilian leaders. Roger Loria, great in wealth, in fame, and in pride, was too much bent upon being the principal and only support of the new monarchy: and, allured by the artifices of James and of the enemy, who held out high honours to himself, to John of Procida and to all the other foreigners who had cast in their lot with the Sicilian revolution, the admiral had Frederick's

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 5.

cause at heart so long only as he and the kingdom of Sicily were exclusively governed by himself. For these very reasons, the other barons, no less valiant in war, were profoundly jealous of the admiral, and were also more acceptable to Frederick. An occasion for the display of these feelings was not long wanting. The king wished to attack Catanzaro, well aware that its subjugation would lead to that of the whole surrounding country: Loria, on the contrary, who was related to the count, represented it to be a place of great strength, and that, therefore, it would be best to pass it by and occupy the weaker towns, leaving Catanzaro to be reduced by famine. In this conflict of opinions, the other captains durst not oppose Loria in council, lest he should confound them with his reproaches in case of disaster, but neither did they like to let his sentence pass without protest, and their significant gestures and mutterings expressed more than words. Frederick took the hint, and resolutely gave orders to march upon Catanzaro, bidding the admiral prepare the engines for the siege. Loria obeyed in silence.

Having encamped before the castle, Frederick deemed it advisable to assault it on the side on which

the fortifications rose from the plain; and, desirous to choke the ditch with logs and fascines, he himself eagerly led the troops into the neighbouring wood, and with his own hand plied the axe, so that in a few hours the work was finished, and a huge mass of wood piled up against the escarpment. All night long the trumpets sounded on this side and on that; while the besieged remained under arms from terror, and the Sicilians from impatience for the plunder of the town promised them by the king. The signal was no sooner given at peep of dawn than the ditch was levelled in an instant, and the seamen began with great activity to scale the walls. But they were arrested by an imperious command. The count, reduced to extremity, called to the admiral, who had mingled, as was his custom, with the combatants, and offered to surrender upon terms, commending himself to him for the sake of the kindred blood that flowed in their veins; the admiral made him a sign to be silent that the soldiers might not hear, and called a halt, first by the sound of trumpet and then in person, commanding and menacing as he galloped to and fro beneath the walls; for the besiegers seeing the

victory already in their grasp, could not bring themselves to relinquish it. Loria then hastened to the king, who at first repulsed him; but the admiral was not to be discouraged, and prevailing on others of the barons to join with him, he finally persuaded Frederick, in spite of the indignation of the whole army, to grant the terms; the count binding himself upon oath to deliver up Catanzaro with all its dependant towns, if he did not receive succour from Naples within forty days, and giving hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions. The whole of the Terra Giordana was comprised in the truce, with the exception of Sanseverina, which maintained an obstinate defence owing to the Archbishop, Lucifero by name, who, according to Speciale, risked his soul for his flock, and offered up to heaven not consecrated wafer and mystic wine, but human bodies and human blood. Frederick encamped, on account of the attractions of the spot, under Cotrone, which the admiral had included in the same terms with Catanzaro.[1] Retaining with him twelve

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 6. Such agreements entered into by captains of fortresses, when they deemed their lords unable to succour them, were not rare in this war.

galleys, he sent the admiral, with the remainder of the fleet and three hundred horse, to the confines of Basilicata to succour Rocca Imperiale, which was cruelly harassed by Count John de Montfort.[1]

Here Loria disembarked with his usual daring, and approached the enemy's camp; then joining his forces to those of Brother Arnaldo de Poncio prior of Sant Eufemia, who was combating in these parts on the side of Sicily, in concert with him he one night threw provisions into the castle, by making a sudden attack upon the besiegers with sacks of grain fastened on the cruppers of the horses and on the shoulders of the infantry. Retiring thence, the admiral made another assault upon Policoro, near the mouth of the Acri, where he seized the provisions of Montfort's host, and a hundred horses which were there under a guard; and his return to Cotrone would have been full of joy if a casual circumstance had not fanned into a flame the suppressed indignation that smouldered in his breast and that of the king

[1] He was the captain general of Charles II., as shown by many diplomas in the Royal Archives of Naples, in 1291—1293.

[2] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 7.

During the armistice, the citizens of Cotrone having one day come to blows with the French soldiers of the garrison, and being worsted, sent to demand succour from that quarter of the Sicilian camp where the fierce seamen of the galleys had pitched their tents; they, seizing in haste whatever weapons were at hand, rushed into the town, renewed the struggle, and the French retreating into the castle, which, from the advantage of its position was of great strength, they entered along with them, slaying and plundering without mercy. Meanwhile, the rumour, spreading through the camp, aroused Frederick from his noonday sleep, who, seizing a truncheon, and springing, unarmed as he was, upon his horse, spurred towards the castle. He found the gates forced, and his men issuing forth with their booty; and indignantly reproaching them with their breach of faith, he scrupled not even to slay with his own hand such as were slowest to fly before him. He then commanded the restitution of the plunder, making good from the royal coffers whatever could not be recovered, and giving two French prisoners for every one slain in the *mêlée;* but though he apologized for

the violation of the truce, he did not restore the castle. He caused the French captain, Peter Rigibal, to embark with his followers and all their property, accompanied by letters addressed to the admiral, informing him of what had occurred, and charging him to send Rigibal with the prisoners of war to the King of Naples, since no other reparation could now be offered.

But the admiral, on learning the occurrence, indignantly exclaimed, "It is I—it is I who am the cause of all!" And hastening to the camp, he remonstrated with Frederick in haughty terms, recalling his own actions, his unblemished faith even in wars against barbarians and infidels; and representing that this would be an ineffaceable stain upon his honour. "Never more," he concluded, "never more will I be the sport of those who whisper perfidious counsels into the ear of the king. From the Castle of Castiglione I will look on with folded hands and behold the event of the war, and the time will come when the caitiffs who now calumniate me at court shall tremble at the presence of danger."

Frederick, scarce restraining his indignation, replied with a contemptuous smile, "that there was

no need for him to recapitulate services already well known and overpaid; that the terms for the surrender of Cotrone had been concluded in the name of the king, to him therefore it appertained to make good the breach of faith, and this he had striven to the utmost of his power to effect; but that arrogance he would not endure. The admiral might leave the army at his pleasure;" and mounting his horse, he left him. Conrad Lancia, the trusted friend of Frederick, and brother-in-law of the admiral, interposed to effect a reconciliation; he succeeded at least in saving appearances, and this time both the king and Loria contented themselves with venting upon the enemy the fierce resentment which rankled in their bosoms.[1]

The progress of our arms on the mainland was rapid and successful. On receiving the message of the Count of Catanzaro, King Charles, whose treasury was exhausted, decided, after long deliberation, on sending supplies to the maritime cities of Apulia, without struggling to afford unavailing succours to the Calabrias; so that after the lapse of the forty days stipulated, the whole

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 8, 9.

county of Catanzaro and the Terra Giordana fell into the hands of Frederick. Meanwhile, the king with the army, and Loria with the fleet, falling simultaneously upon the Count de Montfort, obliged him to raise the siege of Rocca Imperiale. After which the former, pursuing his triumphant progress through the Calabrias, compelled the fierce Archbishop of Sanseverina to come to terms; occupied the strongly posted town of Rossano, with its dependencies, after wasting the whole surrounding country; and, encouraged by success, menaced the upper provinces. The admiral, crossing the Gulf of Taranto, assaulted Terra d'Otranto. Advancing inland as far as Lecce, he surprised it by a sudden nocturnal assault and put it to the sack; then returning to his ships, he presented himself before Otranto of which he obtained possession without difficulty, the irresolute citizens attempting neither to defend themselves, nor to obtain terms. Deeming the port commodious, he strengthened it with walls and towers, and left there three galleys and a garrison of picked men.[1] After this, he attempted a *coup-de-main* upon Brindisi.

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 9—11.

Being, however, forestalled there, by six hundred French horse, Loria, landing his men, entrenched himself at La Rosea behind stakes and ropes, according to his custom, and proceeded to lay waste the country. It happened one day, that having himself led a party of horse as far as the bridge of Brindisi, the infantry that followed him crossed the river in search of shade and limpid waters at a spot which the admiral quickly perceived to be favourable for ambuscades; whereupon he hastened after them upon a palfrey, calling out to them to turn back. On a sudden, a squadron of French horse issuing from an ambush, directed their course at full speed upon the bridge. Roger turned his palfrey round, gained the bridge with difficulty, called for his charger, and with breathless haste gave orders for his men-at-arms to mount, for upon the defence of the bridge depended the safety of his men, a small and scattered band compared with the powerful array of the enemy. Already the captain, Godfrey de Joinville, accompanied by another noble warrior, had advanced in his headlong career beyond the centre arch, and all would have been lost if Peregrine of Patti and William

Palotta, two Sicilian knights, had not thrown themselves, alone and unsupported, upon the bridge. They maintained their position against the two French leaders, and then against the whole squadron which came pressing onwards across the narrow passage, and, bathed in blood from head to foot and covered with wounds, they defended the bridge until the admiral came up with his forces, shouting, "Loria, to the rescue!" The struggle now became more desperate. Coats of mail were shivered, writes Speciale, beneath the blows of swords and truncheons; the warriors of both nations confronted each other hand to hand and breast to breast. It chanced that the admiral and Joinville met in the *mêlée*, and the latter raised his truncheon to strike, but while in the act of doing so, Roger dealt him a thrust with the point of his sword between the cuirass and helmet; the French knight, panting for revenge, plunged his spurs into the flanks of his charger, to make him bear down his opponent beneath his weight, but he spurred into the arms of death, for the fleet animal, bounding forward, precipitated himself and his rider from the bridge. Yet did not this end the struggle, which was fiercely and

obstinately prolonged until the Sicilian cross-bowmen, pouring their volleys into the dense mass of the enemy crowded together upon the bridge, thinned and disordered their ranks and drove them to flight. Many of them, entangled in the mud of the river, were slain or made prisoners; but Loria did not pursue the fugitives, for his band had suffered scarcely less than the enemy from loss and exhaustion, owing to the inequality of forces, so that no further advantage resulted from this victory.[1] But the valour of Peregrine of Patti, and of William Palotta, recalling, as it does, from the similarity of the circumstances, other glorious achievements both of ancient and modern history, is well deserving of remembrance. Speciale gave it a place in the history of Sicily, but since then it has been forgotten by most historians; so true is it that in this world every thing, even glory itself, depends on the caprices of fortune. It appears to me a still more serious omission, that in recording these events, few writers, and those but vaguely, have called attention to the important political fact, that in the war carried on between the two kingdoms of

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 15, 16.

Sicily and Naples, the former, though so much smaller in territory, was in general victorious; and in the summer of 1296 not only successfully defended its own frontiers, but conquered the whole of the enemy's country from the point of Reggio to Cape Roseto,[1] harassed Terra d'Otranto, and would have carried its arms still further inland, had not the interests of the other European powers interposed.

Pope Boniface, seeing Frederick no longer amenable to his views, united himself more closely with James, in order to make use of him against his brother. On the 21st of January, 1296, he took the King of Aragon into his service, with the high-sounding title of *Gonfaloniere*, Admiral, and Captain-General of the Church, to combat in the Holy Land,—which was the ostensible, or elsewhere, which was the real object,—against all enemies or rebellious subjects of the Church, with sixty galleys armed by him, and their expenses defrayed by the Pope. James was to receive half of the spoils, and the investiture of Corsica and Sardinia; the remainder of the conquests reverting to the Church, or to their former Christian

[1] Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 55.

lords.[1] Soon after this Boniface pressed him to come to Rome, as he had promised.[2] And, goaded to the quick by Frederick, who at this time was sounding the dispositions of the Neapolitans, intriguing with Tuscan and Lombard exiles, and even with the Roman house of Colonna already well disposed to rebellion against the Pope, he proceeded on the feast of Ascension to deal his spiritual blows yet more severely. He annulled the act of coronation of the King of Sicily; excommunicated him, together with his subjects, and their allies; and fixed, as a term for his repentance, St. Peter's day upon which he renewed his maledictions.[3] At the same time he showered indulgences on all who would bear arms against Sicily; and assisted Charles with the ecclesiastical tithes of the kingdom of Naples and of Provence.[4] So that the latter, notwithstanding his late reverses, wishing again to try the fortune of war, or to use it as a pretext to extort money

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1297, §§ 19—24, quotes this bull of the preceding year. Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 18.

[2] Raynald, 1296, § 11, Brief of the 5th Feb.

[3] Bull, in Lünig, Cod. Ital. Dipl. Nap. and Sicilia, No. 65. Raynald, 1296, §§ 13—15. The practices of Frederick with the Colonnas are reproachfully recorded by Boniface in his manifesto against that family. Raynald, 1297, §§ 27, 28.

[4] Raynald, 1296, §§ 13, 15.

from his subjects, summoned a general parliament to meet at Foggia, on the 20th of September, announcing a new expedition against Sicily, and commanding the feudataries either to appear in arms, or to furnish an equivalent in money. James likewise made preparations for war; but restrained by a regard for appearances and by the trouble occasioned him at home by the wars of Murcia and Castile,[1] he first made trial of renewed admonitions to Frederick.

Towards the close of summer, while Frederick was still prosecuting the war in Calabria, a messenger from the King of Aragon, Peter Corbelles of the Preaching Friars, reached his camp, using conciliatory words of peace, and concluding with the menace that James, being now Captain-General of the Holy See, would not hesitate between its claims and that of his own blood, but at the command of the Pontiff would plunge his sword even into the bosom of his mother, and into the bowels of his sons. He therefore admonished Frederick to open his eyes to his real situation; and for this purpose demanded an interview with him at Ischia. But Frederick, quite unmoved, declared the message to his barons, and seeing

[1] Zurita, Ann. of Arag. book v. ch. 20, 21.

them perplexed, himself encouraged them with noble and valiant words. The question was referred to the general parliament, in accordance with the terms of the new constitution, and also because he hoped there to find spirits more undaunted. Leaving therefore Blasco Alagona as his lieutenant in Calabria, with a sufficient force, he returned in haste to Messina, appointed the place and day for the meeting of the parliament, and recalled Loria with the fleet.[1] The latter, either because indignation for the causes we have mentioned still rankled in his breast, or regarding Frederick's fortunes as desperate, had already in Terra d'Otranto given ear to the allurements of the enemy. Bartholomew Machoses of Valencia, despatched to him in August by James, under colour of demanding from him the surrender of the fief of Gerace, in Calabria, had perhaps already come to a treasonable understanding with him. It was even suspected that the first seeds of his disaffection were sown at the time of the accession of Frederick, when the Aragonese barons, who remained faithful to James, departed from Sicily. The King of Aragon, meanwhile,

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 12—14.

had despatched other messengers to his mother, to Frederick himself, and to Palermo, Messina, and the other principal cities of the island;[1] so that the admiral, who had returned at once to Messina and conferred with the Spanish friar, who was awaiting the result of the deliberations, was not without hope of inducing the impending parliament to listen to proposals of negotiation. The barons and syndics of the cities having assembled in the middle of October at Piazza, he openly exerted himself to win them over, and to obtain partisans by the lavish use of promises and menaces. But Vinciguerra Palizzi and Matthew di Termini laboured yet more zealously on the other side; the night before the meeting was spent by them in hastening hither and thither, conjuring all not to suffer the departure of Frederick; and hence the contest in the parliament was severe.

The object of the embassy having been proclaimed, all were at perfect liberty to vote as pleased them best. The majority inclined to the rejection of the proposal, for love either of Frederick,

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 17. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book v. ch. 21, 23.

or of their own interests, fearing lest he should be seduced by James's influence, when Loria rose to address them with tears in his eyes, as if moved by commiseration for Sicily: he admonished them not to deceive themselves, for the united forces of James and of Charles would be irresistible; they would recover Calabria in the twinkling of an eye, and would carry into Sicily famine, sword, and fire, causing the island to pay the penalty of its blind obstinacy with torrents of blood. "On the other hand," added he, "what harm can result from Frederick's journey? Perhaps the affection of the King of Aragon for him may even incline him to our cause. And if he should come against us as an enemy, think by how many Catalans and Aragonese your ranks will be diminished. They may, indeed, take up arms in favour of whom they please, but they are traitors if they fight against the standard of Aragon." Much confusion ensued upon this discourse; even the partisans of Loria were ashamed to give in their adhesion in words, though they bowed their heads in assent; the rest loudly opposed him; so that, after a long contest, nothing was decided.

But the following day every doubt was removed

by the king, who himself rose to address the assembly. "I will not repeat," said he, "the words already spoken, which have been but too many. My opinion is, that any attempt at negotiation would result only in increased animosity between James, the captain of your enemies, and me, who have pledged myself heart and soul to Sicily. Between Sicily and her foes there is no compromise possible; either she must be free as she is to-day, or trampled down in slavery yet more cruel than she has ever known. This is the question upon which you have to deliberate, not upon the journey of your king to Ischia. And as for you, Roger, who speak in mysterious terms of the laws and usages of Aragon, remember that I am as much a monarch in Sicily as James elsewhere; and that if he wages an unjust war against me, the only traitors will be those who betray my cause. As for the dangers which you have described as so terrible, let but your ancient valour revive in your heart, and remember that God himself does battle against the unjust and against the proud." This heroic discourse was crowned by a decree of the parliament, forbidding the conference with James. Frederick announced it to

the ambassador, dismissed him,[1] and set strenuously to work to prepare for the defence of Sicily.

We must not omit to mention the other acts of this parliament of Piazza, which was not so much disturbed by this momentous political question, but that it could deliberate, as if in a time of profound peace, upon many statutes, neglected amidst the fundamental laws of the parliament of Palermo, and suggested by recent experience, or by the fresh development of civil power. The municipal element was, in fact, favoured so much beyond the aristocracy, as to afford evident proof of the preponderance of the popular party, and of the intention of Frederick to found his power rather upon that, than upon the turbulent and factious baronage, and to give reason to believe that it was the popular party to which, as is frequently the case, several of the nobles had united themselves, which in this parliament carried the day in favour of war, and sustained the cause of Frederick and of the revolution. These statutes undoubtedly give proof of great civilization for that age. It was decreed that the Castellans should not interfere in the affairs of the neighbouring munici-

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 17, 18.

palities, nor the nobles in the election of the magistrates of the communes; that the feudataries should not lay claim to any tribute on the passage of horned cattle, or levy tolls at their pleasure upon provisions; that they should not defraud their vassals in the extent of farms subject to ground-rent; nor exact new rents upon fiefs recently granted from the royal domain; the alienation of fiefs beyond the limits of the lately enacted law was forbidden; an obligation was laid upon the barons to reside in Sicily, or to return thither after a short interval of absence; and it was decreed that the sovereign alone could give permission for the marriage of their daughters with the sons of enemies of the state.[1] Other statutes for the protection of the weak against the strong, sought to set new limits to the deeply rooted abuses practised by officials upon the property of private individuals.[2] In every commune was instituted a tribunal, composed of three citizens, bound by oath to denounce every oppressive act of the justiciaries or other officials, as well as every

[1] Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia—Enactments of the Parliament of Piazza, ch. 37, 40, 42—44, 49, 50—52, 54, 57.

[2] Ibid. ch. 36, 38, 39, 46—48, 58.

violation of personal security; and these, from the oath by which they were bound, were called *giurati*.[1] The import and export of wine, and other provisions, was declared free; and the seizure of persons or beds, and the destruction of houses, forbidden for default in the payment of taxes from which them ilitary were exempted.[2] The prohibition against the use of the opprobrious epithets of Guelf and *ferracano* was renewed; and those not guilty of any misdeed, but only suspected of holding such political opinions, declared capable of holding office.[2] No less remarkable are the mild and liberal sentiments displayed in the numerous regulations concerning the Saracen and Greek slaves, whom the buccaneering expeditions in the late wars had rendered very numerous in Sicily: regulations tending to the conversion of the former to the Christian faith, of the latter to orthodox doctrines, and to the maintenance of public morals; but Christians were forbidden to have any connexion with Jews, and the latter to hold office, or exercise the pro-

[1] Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia—Enactments of the Parliament of Piazza, ch. 45.

[2] Ibid. ch. 41, 55, 56. [3] Ibid. ch. 53.

fession of medicine.[1] The penalty of death was pronounced against poisoners, sorcerers, diviners and enchanters, who, in the language of the statute, diffuse profane errors, and deceive the people with impious fallacies;[2] so that these our ancient legislators, neither had recourse to the common and atrocious practice of burning at the stake, nor showed any belief in necromancy, but merely sought to punish fraud and civil disturbance. For the same reason, games of chance were interdicted, a distinction being carefully drawn between these and games of skill; while warlike sports and military exercises were highly commended.[3] To the zeal for religion and morals which these ordinances evince, was added a statute especially directed against the usurpation of ecclesiastical property; and another prohibiting the importation of arms, iron, or wood-work, into infidel countries; but a tribute was paid to the times, by leaving to the Court of Rome the power of introducing reforms; and that not of those laws only in which was seen the uncertainty of the limit between the power of the sovereign and that of the Pon-

[1] Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia—Enactments of the Parliament of Piazza, ch. 59—75.

[2] Ibid. ch. 76.

[3] Ibid. ch. 77—84.

tiff.[1] We may here remark with regard to the enactments of the parliament of Piazza, which contain a greater number of penal regulations than any of the former ones either of Frederick or of James, that, except the pain of death pronounced against poisoners and sorcerers, the penalties are mostly pecuniary or privative; those of temporary imprisonment are rare, and for the practice of prohibited games in one place stripes are added. The king reserved to himself to punish some official abuses at his own discretion, and to regulate according to the circumstances of individual cases the nature of the imprisonments above-mentioned;[2] so that we may safely pronounce the system of penal government to have been lenient, and tolerably impartial.

At this period, Ischia being still held by the Sicilians, was the scene of a gallant conflict between Peter Salvacoscia with five galleys, and nine huge transports, full of armed men, sent to the reconquest of the little island by the Neapolitans, who were ashamed of the tribute there exacted upon the wines conveyed in and out of

[1] Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia—Enactments of the Parliament of Piazza, ch. 82, 83, 85. [2] Ibid. ch.

the bay. The Sicilians, heedless of the inequality of numbers, commenced the attack, and were victorious; each galley captured a transport; the four remaining ones fled, and Charles belying, on this occasion, his usually gentle nature, caused their captains to be put to death;[1] and as if despairing of the fortune of war, hastened to Rome to reiterate his entreaties to Boniface. The latter again urged the coming of the King of Aragon, and granted him the ecclesiastical tithes of Aragon for the armament.[2] James, while making his preparations in February, 1297, as a last effort sent the Bishop of Valencia, and William of Namontaguda to his brother, once more to press the conference at Ischia; but the latter saying that he would refer the matter to the parliament, they retorted that, in that case, James on his side would obey the Pope. Frederick replied, that he should not, on this account, look upon his brother, much less upon the Catalan and Aragonese nations, as enemies, and that he should apply

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 18. This battle at Ischia must have taken place between the 15th September and 20th October, 1296, for we have two diplomas of Charles II. of this date, one from Brindisi, the other from Rome; and Speciale affirms that the King was at Naples when the four flying transports returned.

[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1297, brief of the 30th September, 1296.

to the cortes. Thereupon the Spanish ambassadors departed in displeasure. Frederick sent others to Spain, without any better result; for the people, as well as the king, looked favourably on the peace with France, and perhaps also on the subsidy of the Pope.[1]

The winter having passed away amid these fruitless negotiations, the end of March, 1297, found James in Italy, but without a fleet, as he wished to secure a larger and surer price for the declaration of war against his brother. This he obtained from Pope Boniface, who immediately granted him the bull of investiture of Corsica and Sardinia,[2] only reserving to himself the right of retracting it within a twelvemonth, should this prove necessary to facilitate the Sicilian negotiations,[3] which manifestly implies the idea of an exchange with Frederick. James, notwithstanding, assumed the crown of both islands; took the oath of allegiance to the Church,[4]

[1] Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book v. ch. 25.

[2] Zurita, ibid. ch. 28. Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1297, §§ 2—16, where the bull is dated the 4th April, 1297. See also Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 18. Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 12.

[3] Raynald, ibid. § 17.

[4] Diploma of the 8th June, 1297, published by Testa, Vita di Federigo, docum. 7.

and obtained from the Pope, that, during his absence from Spain, his kingdom should be under the protection of the Holy See; that the Bishops of Ilerda and Saragossa,[1] as legates, should be charged with the government of it, and should exhort the people to join in the war against Sicily. He soon after obtained a prolongation of the term for the restitution of Majorca to his uncle James;[2] affianced his sister, Yolanda, to Robert, presumptive heir of the Crown of Naples; and leagued himself closely with Charles II., for the reduction of Sicily, but did not even yet prepare his forces; while by means of messengers he actively intrigued with Loria.

The latter, resolved upon detaching himself from Frederick, since he could not govern him, acted more and more openly and boldly. One day as the king was riding with Conrad Lancia, along the beach, between Musalla and Messina, he rode up between them, and showing them letters from James to summon him to a conference, promised to exert himself at it in favour of Frederick, and then to return. The king, encouraged by Conrad, either despising or not

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1297, § 18. [2] Ibid. § 25.

heeding the danger, gave him leave of absence, granting him, moreover, two galleys with which to proceed to Calabria, to furnish supplies to his strongholds, now menaced afresh by the perils of war. But when the admiral returned to Messina, previous to setting out for Rome, the young king, at the instigation of his courtiers, had begun to look with displeasure upon the dealings of Loria with the enemy, as well as upon the forces, arms, and provisions collected by him in his fortresses; and, rendered suspicious by these reflections, Frederick, who with a lofty spirit had but little judgment, adopted the worst possible course; he neither conciliated nor crushed his powerful vassal, but provoked him. He himself furnished the pretext which the admiral anxiously desired to free himself from the odium of treason, in which he succeeded so well in the eyes of his contemporaries, that some historians have even handed down his character unblemished to posterity. In the midst of his court, when the admiral advanced according to custom to kiss the hand of the king, Frederick indignantly withdrew it; and when Loria drew himself up to inquire the motive of such an insult, he addressed him roughly, asking,

"Wherefore dost thou conspire with my enemies?" and becoming more excited as he proceeded, he ended by commanding him not to stir from the hall. An ominous silence ensued; no hand was raised against the admiral; he himself, taken by surprise by the anger of the king, durst not depart, but stood aloof quivering with indignation. Vinciguerra Palizzi and Manfred Chiaramonte, however, who had doubtless no love for Roger, but, on the other hand, did not like the precedent of a powerful noble crushed without the intervention of the law, came forward to intercede for him with a mildness that afterwards proved most injurious to their country. Softened by their persuasions, the king consented to accept them as sureties for the admiral, and night had already closed in when the latter was suffered to depart from the palace free and uninjured.

He hastened joyfully to his own house, invited the numerous friends, who had assembled to congratulate him on his return from Calabria, to sup with him, and while the supper was being served, hastened down a secret stair, mounted his horse, with three of his most trusty adherents, and

spurred at full speed towards Castiglione. He arrived there at three o'clock in the morning, and it was well for him that he did so; for already Frederick, his anger revived by the enemies of the admiral, had sent to summon him to his presence. This imprudent vacillation troubled the whole of Sicily. Many partisans of Loria, resolved on sharing his fortunes, went in arms to join him; while he fortified with the utmost despatch the strongholds of Novara, Tripi, Ficarra, Castiglione, Aci, Francavilla, and other places which he held in fief, and maintained a proud and menacing attitude. When his two sureties went to solicit him to return to his allegiance and to offer him securities in the name of the king, Roger, either feeling himself in the wrong, or too haughty to yield, refused with many plausible arguments. At length he paid out of his own purse the immense amount of the bail, having done which he considered himself released from every tie of honour. He, however, neither declared war against the king, nor sued for peace. And Frederick after this first imprudence durst not assault him, fearing to entangle himself in a civil

war, with the enemy at his back. Delay was, however, scarcely less perilous.[1]

From this dilemma he was extricated by Queen Constance, whose dexterity and influence had two years before prevented the secession of John of Procida. The Queen, summoned to Rome by her elder son to conduct Yolanda to her bridegroom, overcame her reluctance to quit Frederick, in the hope that she might be able to bring about a reconciliation between the foes, and obtain

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 18, 19. It is to be regretted that this historian does not give the exact date of the flight of the admiral; for on the 2d April, 1297, James created him High Admiral for life, and on the 6th of the same month Pope Boniface granted in fief to Loria, having returned "ad apostolicæ sedis gratiam et mandata," the castle and town of Aci, belonging to the dominion of the Church or of the Bishop of Catania, and at present held by him. (Testa, Vita di Federigo II., docum. 10.) Now it is evident that, if these concessions were made before the flight of Roger, he was not hesitating between Frederick and the enemy, but dissembling his treason; and we may conclude that, if Frederick erred, it was only in sparing him. In either case the name of Loria, and that of Procida who preceded him in the paths of treason, must be condemned by the impartial judgment of history. Both abandoned Frederick and Sicily, believing that they could not make head against the united forces of the half of Europe; and Loria, who would have closed his eyes to the danger, if Frederick would have suffered himself to be governed by him, yielded to the allurements of interest when he saw his extravagant ambition disappointed.

peace for her own conscience by readmission into the bosom of the Church. With exemplary humility, she desired the permission of Frederick to set out on her journey; and, under pretext of asking him for an escort, she took with her, honourably at once to themselves and to the king, the admiral, who was on the verge of declaring war, and John of Procida, equally, if not more, obnoxious to suspicion. Loria, having obtained a safe-conduct from Frederick up to the time of embarkation, before quitting his strongholds enjoined all his vassals to adhere faithfully to their allegiance, and when his nephew, John Loria, should come to Castiglione, to obey him whatever fortune might betide. The queen and the princess, parting in much sorrow from Frederick, and accompanied by the Bishop of Valencia and the two nobles going forth to exile in so menacing an attitude, set sail with four galleys from Milazzo, and proceeded in the direction of Rome. When they had reached the open sea, some of those on board conversed together, and some took their ease, all hoping more or less good from the coming events; Constance alone, says Speciale, motionless on the stern of the vessel, gazed with

tearful eyes on the mountains of Sicily, rapidly fading from her sight, and thought upon James and Frederick, and upon the disasters that were impending. The marriage was solemnized at Rome; notwithstanding the prayers of Constance war was finally resolved upon; James departed for Catalonia to put the fleet in readiness; and Loria, for the same purpose, returned in friendly guise and as the admiral of King Charles, to those ports of the kingdom of Naples which for fifteen years had trembled at his name. First, however, James created him admiral for life in all his dominions, with vast authority, great emoluments, and an unlimited field for rapine; and a marriage was arranged between his daughter Beatrice and James of Exerica, a prince of the blood royal of Aragon. The Pope bestowed upon him in fief the town and castle of Aci in Sicily, to be held from the Bishop of Catania; and received him, as well as John of Procida, back into the bosom of the Church.[1] The latter was also reinstated in his possessions in the kingdom

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 20—22. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 56. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book v. ch. 26, &c. Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 18. Montaner, ch. 185.

of Naples, according to the first agreement entered into between James and Charles.[1]

And thus the two Neapolitans, whose names had been so famous in the revolution of the Vespers, together left Sicily as enemies, closely bound to each other by community of fate and of ambition; companions first in exile; then in hopes, and in the support of the new dynasty in Sicily; lastly in treason. Loria, bred up from a child at the court of Peter of Aragon, was a man of boundless aspirations and great military talent, a renowned general and the first admiral of his time; but ruthless and bloodthirsty, avaricious, haughty and of insatiable rapacity. He restored the naval superiority of Sicily; taught the Sicilians the art of victory; and was the most powerful support of the infant state. He turned against it so soon as he had rivals in power; whether most envious or envied, it is hard to say; and his abandonment of Frederick when his fortunes seemed on the brink of ruin, is an additional stain upon his honour. He took with him

[1] Many documents are to be found in the Royal Archives of Naples concerning the possessions of John of Procida and their restitution by the Angevin government after his conversion, or treason.

the dominion of the seas, but not all his former glory; since if sometimes he triumphed over his former comrades, at others he was defeated by them; and no sooner had the peace of Caltabellotta closed the bloody scene in which, now on one side and now on the other, he had acted so conspicuous a part, than, as if there remained no more work for his destructive spirit to accomplish, he died of illness at Valencia, and his bones were laid to rest, as he had long before directed, in a sepulchre at the foot of that of King Peter.[1] John of Procida was in every respect inferior to him, yet is his name at the present day blazoned forth far more widely by capricious fame. From an able and acute minister of the King of Aragon, corrupt historical tradition has transformed him into the liberator of an oppressed people, placed him on a level with Brutus and Timoleon, and ascribed to him alone what was in fact the result of the passions and sufferings of the whole Sicilian

[1] Quintana, Vidas, &c. vol. i. p. 170, says that this sepulchre was still to be seen in the monastery of S^ta. Croce belonging to the order of St. Bernard, in Catalonia; and he transcribes the unassuming inscription still preserved upon it, according to which Loria died on the 17th of January, 1305. Ibid. vol. ii. p. 125, are published the testamentary dispositions of the Admiral concerning his sepulture.

nation; to the merits which he possessed, sagacity, daring, promptitude, and experience in state affairs, it has added the patriotic virtues which he had not, and which he, on the contrary, violated, first by plotting with the enemy, and then by openly intriguing against the Sicilian revolution, when its spirit was restored by Frederick. He died in obscurity at Rome, at the commencement of the year 1299, before he had recovered, as the price of his infamy and by the clemency of the enemy, all his former possessions in the kingdom of Naples.[1]

Amongst all those, whether princes or subjects, who, driven by ambition to not inglorious crimes, rose to distinction at that period in Sicily, Queen Constance stands forth conspicuous for the purity of her fame, the beauty of her person,[2] and that of her character, endowed with all the noblest qualities of a woman, a mother, and a Christian. The

[1] Buscemi in the Vita di Giovanni di Procida, docum. 8, at the end of the work publishes a diploma in which the Castle of Procida is granted to Thomas his second son, Francis, the elder, having neglected to obtain the investiture of it within the usual term of a year and a day from the death of his father.

[2] "Vadi a mia bella figlia, genitrice
Dell' onor di Cicilia, e d'Aragona."
Dante, Purgat. c. 3.

death of Manfred cast a cloud over the flower of her years; and though she afterwards witnessed the liberation of Sicily, and the punishment of the exterminator of the House of Suabia, she had to tremble every instant for the lives of those most dear to her; to bewail the death of two sons; the hostility of two others; nor could she behold with much satisfaction the marriage of her daughter with a member of the detested House of Anjou. Born and educated at Palermo,[1] and brought back to Sicily by circumstances so remarkable, she governed it mildly during the absence of Peter; dictated a few laws, which have not been preserved to us; and was gentle and loving to her subjects, including even the intolerable Macalda. Her freedom from ambition was proved by her resignation of the crown to which she alone had a hereditary right, first to her husband, and then to her sons; nor did this moderation proceed from want of character or energy; for in times of imminent peril she provided ably for the defence of Sicily, and twice by her sagacity saved Frederick from the faction

[1] See the authorities alleged by Inveges, Palermo Nobile, part iii. 1260—1262.

hostile to the interests of the nation. Her conscience set at rest by the papal benediction, and the troubles of Sicily verging to a close, she, in the year 1302, ended her days at Barcelona, where she occupied herself in her old age in the erection of monasteries, and in other good works suggested by her piety. But never, perhaps, in the whole course of her exemplary and unhappy life, did she suffer more than at the period at which I have for a moment paused in my narrative, when, without any hope of reconciliation, she saw James and Frederick arrayed in arms against each other.[1]

[1] These reflections upon Queen Constance are chiefly derived from Speciale, book iii. ch. 20, 21. In the acts of Frederick II. (Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia) are confirmed amongst other privileges those of Queen Constance: "Nec non Aragonum et Siciliæ regina sanctissima mater nostra," &c. For the death of Queen Constance, see Montaner, ch. 185.

CHAPTER XVI.

REBELLION OF THE VASSALS OF THE ADMIRAL IN SICILY, WHICH IS SUBDUED, AND HIMSELF DEFEATED BY THE SICILIANS BEFORE CATANZARO.—PREPARATIONS OF JAMES AND OF FREDERICK.—THE FORMER DISEMBARKS ON THE NORTHERN SHORE OF THE ISLAND, AND ADVANCES TO THE SIEGE OF SYRACUSE.—FEATS OF ARMS OF THE GUERILLA WARFARE WHICH BREAKS FORTH IN SICILY.—JOHN LORIA DEFEATED AND TAKEN PRISONER IN THE STRAITS OF MESSINA; THE SIEGE OF SYRACUSE RAISED.—JAMES RETURNS TO NAPLES, AND THENCE TO CATALONIA.—FRESH INVASION OF SICILY BY HIM.—PARLIAMENT AT MESSINA.—THE SICILIAN FLEET DEFEATED BY THAT OF CATALONIA AT CAPO D'ORLANDO.—SUMMER OF 1297, TO THE 4TH JULY, 1299.

Loria commenced his service to his new master by attempting fresh treason against his old one. He hazarded the endeavour to reach Sicily with a single fast-sailing vessel, yet did not take his measures so cautiously but that Frederick received information of them through his spies, and, eager for vengeance against the admiral, armed two vessels to lie in wait for him at the Lipari Islands. Roger escaped, owing to his watchful caution, and rapid flight on the discovery of the

Sicilian vessels, which either would not or could not overtake their former captain; but this check was sufficient to overthrow all his plans. Upon hearing of it, John Loria the nephew of the admiral, who had been brought up by him like his own son, although high in the favour of Frederick likewise, suddenly left the court to raise the standard of war at Castiglione; in vain attempted to gain Randazzo, where the people armed themselves against his partisans;[1] sacked and plundered the neighbouring village of Mascali; but was unable otherwise to injure either the king or the country, failing the personal presence of Loria. Frederick immediately proclaimed him the enemy of the state, and laid siege to the feudal castles of the admiral; himself encamping against Castiglione, the most important of all, because in it William Palotta, the hero of the bridge of Brindisi, Thomas of Lentini, and many other warriors of renown, kinsmen or followers of the admiral, had shut themselves up with John Loria. The siege was carried on for no great length of time,

[1] Frederick requited the loyalty of Randazzo by a diploma of the 15th June, 1299, granting some immunities of customs dues both by sea and by land.—Testa, Op. cit. docum. 17.

but with much bloodshed, during the summer of 1297, until the castle being attacked on three sides, shaken by the discharges from the engines, and hopeless of assistance from beyond sea, John surrendered, upon condition of security for life and property, and passed into Calabria, with Ilaria his wife, daughter of Count Manfred Maletta, Roger Loria, son of the admiral, and all his confederates. Francavilla had already yielded itself up to the Messinese, who had advanced against it. The Castle of Aci, very strongly situated on a rock washed by the sea, bade defiance to the assaults of the forces of Catania. But Frederick, having come thither after the surrender of Castiglione, caused a wooden tower to be constructed of the same height with the walls, and furnished with a slender bridge called a crane, which being brought within a stone's throw of the wall, soon induced the garrison to submit. And thus the rebellion in favour of the admiral was crushed in Sicily.[1]

Fortune, at the same time, inflicted upon him still greater mortification on the mainland. At

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iii. ch. 22. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 57. And diplomas quoted by Testa, Op. cit. docum. 11, 14.

the head of a squadron of King Charles's horse, he sought to vent the indignation caused him by recent events, upon the Sicilian acquisitions in Calabria; and for this purpose, combining artifice with force, he even persuaded Blasco Alagona to consent to an interview, in order to seduce him from his allegiance, or at least to render him obnoxious to suspicion in the eyes of Frederick: but he succeeded only in the latter. The king, rendered uneasy, recalled Blasco to Sicily; and Loria seized the opportunity of exciting the town of Catanzaro to revolt, and obtained from the castle a promise of surrender within thirty days, if no relief appeared; nor could Frederick take effectual measures to counteract this, occupied as he then was by the above-mentioned sieges in Sicily. He sent back to Calabria with all speed the gallant and faithful Blasco, and with him Calcerando and Montecateno; but the greater number of feudataries were unwilling to quit Sicily, where peace was not yet restored; so that the term had well-nigh expired, and on the Sicilian side there were no more than two hundred horse assembled at Squillaci, while Loria, at the head of four hundred, awaited them in a menacing attitude. It

was the night before the thirtieth day, and Blasco, absorbed in these reflections, sought in vain to recruit his strength by a little sleep, when one of his scouts came, in breathless haste, to inform him of the arrival in the hostile camp of Godfrey of Mili, with three hundred horse. Blasco sprung from his bed and grasped him by the arm, exclaiming, "On peril of thy life, be silent; let none of our men know this." The increase of the danger banished from his lofty spirit every trace of hesitation. Before break of day, having taken counsel with two of his captains, he caused the troops to refresh themselves with food; and advanced from Squillaci in the direction of Catanzaro. About the hour of vespers they reached a level spot, between the beds of two torrents, which was called Sicopotamo; and there they met Loria, coming forth to give them battle.

He had with him seven hundred horse under the banners of four and twenty nobles, and divided into three ranks, of which the first was commanded by himself, the second by Reforziato, a Provençal knight, the last by Godfrey of Mili. The Sicilian men-at-arms, twenty-four having departed before the battle, amounted only to one

hundred and seventy-six, which Blasco, on account of the scantiness of their numbers, marshalled in a single squadron, with the exception of a handful whom he placed in the van under Martin Oletta. He himself commanded in the centre, Calcerando on the right, Montecateno on the left; and his flanks were secured by "almugaveri" and men of the fleet scattered on the banks of the two torrents. His forces thus posted he awaited the encounter.

The admiral charged down hill with the first division, but failed in breaking the ranks of the Sicilian van-guard, so that losing the advantage of the impetus, the struggle commenced on an equal footing, and impeded the advance of Reforziato, who was following at speed with the second division, in hopes of completing the victory. Reforziato, therefore, deployed along the flanks of the Sicilian host, whence the infantry, with showers of stones and darts, repulsed him with much slaughter. Meanwhile Godfrey of Mili with the third division, perplexed by this unexpected resistance, advanced by the side of Loria, whom, owing to the narrowness of the space, he embarrassed rather than assisted during the desperate struggle with Blasco, maintained by both,

according to Speciale, with equal obstinacy; the one habituated to victory, and confident in numbers; the other beholding with pride the serried lines and desperate daring of his followers, and never yet having turned his back upon the foe. At length Loria wounded in the arm, and his horse slain under him, disappeared for an instant in the midst of the *mêlée;* his banner attacked by a handful of daring warriors, began to waver; and the standard-bearer, wounded in the face, and no longer seeing his lord, turned his back upon the conflict. Thereupon Blasco spurred forward in pursuit with a tremendous shout, "Forward, knights; the enemy gives way!" and the Sicilians, animated at this decisive moment by superhuman courage, dashed through the hostile squadrons, breaking and scattering them on every side. "Alagona!" was the cry on our side, "Aragona!" on that of the admiral, who vainly hoped to find in it the wonted signal of victory; but now it did him injury, for in the agitation and confusion, Godfrey of Mili, thinking he heard the shout of "Alagona" on his flanks and deeming himself surrounded and in jeopardy, fled, drawing after him the other divisions, and thus

the rout was completed. In the conflict fell the sons of Reforziato and of Virgilio Scordia, Giordano of Amantea, and many nobles. Reforziato himself was taken, but corrupted his guards and fled; many more escaped by favour of the darkness. The great Loria himself, wounded and on foot, forgotten by his followers in their headlong flight, concealed himself under a hedge, anticipating every moment discovery and death, when by chance he was perceived by a flying retainer of his own, who, instantly dismounting, gave him his horse. The admiral shedding tears of rage sprung into the saddle, and flying at full speed from the Sicilians, took refuge at Badolato. He afterwards bestowed large possessions in the kingdom of Valencia upon this faithful adherent, who, at his own imminent peril, had rescued him from certain death. But if the head of Roger was not among the trophies of the victory, the Sicilians were satisfied with the glory of inflicting upon him the first defeat he had ever experienced. A handful of men in the midst of a hostile country, and opposed to so renowned a captain, had triumphed over a force of more than three times their number. They returned the next day to

Squillaci, and not only saved the Castle of Catanzaro, but Calcerando also retook the town, where the relics of the hostile force dared not make head against him.[1]

Not long after Bernard Sarriano, who had been a daring naval captain so long as he had Sicilians under his command, went over to the enemy, assaulted Malta with a small squadron, made an attempt to gain Marsala, and failing in both enterprises, returned to the Neapolitan ports, without waiting for Frederick, who at the first tidings of his proceedings hastily equipped thirty galleys at Palermo and elsewhere, intending to take the command of them in person. The year 1297 closed and the winter passed away without any other operation of importance. Frederick, with Manfred Chiaramonte and Vinciguerra Palizzi, carried on machinations against the admiral, now purposing to accomplish his death by means of a handful of resolute men, tempted by the promise of an immense reward; now to challenge him to single combat by a champion, the famous defender of Gerona, Raymond Folch, Viscount of Cardona, who was to brand him with treason

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 1.

according to the usage of Barcelona or of the Aragonese courts of law, and to slay him in single combat, or at least, by withdrawing him from Italy to relieve Frederick from so dangerous an enemy.[1] But these designs against Loria ended in nothing. One Montaner Perez de Sosa, sent by Frederick to Catalonia, to impede if possible the preparations for war, found no sympathy from the nation, and escaped with difficulty from the hands of king James,[2] whose zeal in the so-called cause of Holy Church, was inflamed by the gold of Charles and of the Pope; for Loria, cut to the soul by the disgrace of his arms at Catanzaro, but fierce and haughty as if in triumph, had gone to king Charles to make bitter complaints of the shameful flight of his subjects, declaring that without the king of Aragon nothing could be effected: and Boniface perceiving that upon this depended the whole fortune of the war, granted to James everything that he desired. He tolerated the delay in making the restitution, strenuously insisted on by France, of the states of James king of Majorca, and extracted from the

[1] Testa, Vita di Federigo II., docum. 13, 14.
[2] Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book v. ch. 35.

"Camera Apostolica" the sums collected from those provinces, which, writes Speciale with a stern energy worthy of Dante, Constantine had bestowed for a widely different purpose upon Sylvester in his poverty. These sums served to arm against Sicily Aragonese, Catalans, French, Provençaux, Gascons, Italians and others, and, with about eighty galleys thus manned and filled, James having concluded a truce with the King of Castile, sailed for Ostia at the beginning of the summer of 1298.[1]

Frederick appointed as his admiral Conrad

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 2. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 59, records the enterprise of James "operante supradicto papa Bonifacio." Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book v. ch. 33.

Montaner abandons us altogether in these wars of James against Frederick. He records the armaments of the former, as if made with the object of concluding peace between King Charles and Frederick; for this purpose he states him to have come to Italy with 105 galleys; he says not a word of the invasion of Sicily in 1298, of its repetition in the ensuing year, or of the battle at Capo d'Orlando, but he thinks to satisfy the claims of his office as historian by concluding ch. 186 with these words: "Some will doubtless ask: Why has Montaner passed so lightly over these events? If such an inquiry were addressed to me, I should reply, that there are questions which do not deserve an answer."

The negotiations concerning restitution to the King of Majorca do not come within the scope of the present work, but they show that Boniface for love of the Sicilian enterprise sacrificed the interests of James of Majorca, and temporized with Philip the Fair, who sought to support him. This is confirmed by many diplomas in the Archives of France.

Doria, a man of great naval renown, and proceeded to equip sixty-four galleys, with much help probably from the Messinese, to whom he at this period confirmed freedom from all customs dues by land and sea, and granted them immunity from collections, loans, and all other species of exactions, to reward them for their past fidelity, and encourage them to new efforts of loyalty and daring.[1] Having embarked on board these galleys, besides the warriors of the fleet, seven hundred horse, (which, too few to effect much by land, were an incumbrance at sea,) he set sail from Sicily purposing to forestall the arrival of the Aragonese fleet at Naples. Frederick, on board the "Capitana," displaying the royal standard of Sicily, and followed by a long line of galleys, ploughed the waves of the Bay of Naples to the sound of trumpets, in menacing defiance, without any one coming forth to oppose him; he anchored at Ischia which was held in his name, and after a short halt there, unexpectedly returned to Sicily. Speciale ascribes this measure to a warning received from his brother, who, desirous of making a

[1] Diploma of the 15th June, 1298, published by Pirro, Sicilia Sacra, p. 409, ed. 1733.

demonstration without inflicting injury, sent from Rome to admonish him not to risk his all at a distance from Sicily. But the conduct of both James and Frederick at this time, shows anything rather than brotherly kindness and moderation; it seems, therefore, more probable that it was owing to his own fleet being imperfectly supplied, to the advices he received of the superior strength of the enemy, and above all because neither he nor Doria, (gallant warriors both of them, but unfortunate naval commanders,) knew what to do, that they gave up a design which was beyond their abilities, being an unskilful imitation of the masterly achievements of Loria in 1284 and 1287. Frederick, therefore, returned to Sicily to supply the fortresses, and set his land forces in order. James advanced with the fleet from Rome to Naples, and after long deliberation proceeding at length to action with too much haste even to wait for favourable weather, he made sail for Sicily on the 24th of August, 1298,[1] with a powerful array both of ships and men.[2] He was followed soon

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 3, 4. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 58, 59.

[2] Testa, in his Vita di Federigo, states the fleet to have consisted of 80 galleys and 90 other vessels, besides small ones; and

after by Robert Duke of Calabria, heir of the crown of Naples, and they took with them the accustomed weapon of war, a papal legate, in the person of Cardinal Landolfo Volta.[1]

Having landed his forces near Patti and directed the fleet to proceed thither, James occupied the defenceless city on the first of September, beginning the attack upon Sicily on this coast in accordance with the counsels of Roger, who had many towns there, and, being desirous of their recovery, furthered it by representing the subjugation of the country to be attended with less difficulty in that quarter, owing to the number of his partisans. And in truth the allies counted much upon the effect of intrigues, backing them by the pretence, well-pleasing to Boniface, that Sicily was to be restored not to the House of Anjou, but to the Holy See, of which James

rates the military force, which came from Aragon with James, at 500 horse, and 1,156 foot. In this fleet the number of Neapolitan vessels was very small, as may be gathered from several diplomas in the Archives of Naples. Anon. Chron. Sic. states Robert to have come with King James. Speciale does not mention him until the council held before raising the siege of Syracuse. And we gather from some diplomas, that he went to Sicily towards the end of November, 1298, or even later.

[1] Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 59. Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 10. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book v. ch. 35.

styled himself the Captain-General; and under this semblance assumed a degree of authority which might well have awakened the jealousy of the Court of Naples, had it been in a condition to resent the encroachments of its allies from which it derived immediate benefit.[1] To this was added the nfluence of the leaders, the name of Loria being united with that of James, a prince not indeed generally beloved in Sicily, but closely allied with many of the barons, respected by many from the habit of obedience, and moreover dreaded alike for king-craft and warlike valour. Hence the tidings of his disembarkation spread terror throughout the island, and on the persuasions of Roger, the strongholds of Milazzo, Novara, Monforte, San Piero sopra Patti, and a few others, surrendered themselves to James. But the greater part of the surrounding towns, regardless alike of threats or promises, remained true to the cause of Sicily.[2] The King of Aragon having wasted two months without effecting any

[1] Witness the concessions of fiefs in Sicily by James, of which we have several diplomas; yet we find no trace of the delegation of any such authority by Charles II. to the King of Aragon, who it is evident exercised it as Captain-General of the Pope.

[2] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 4. Anon. Chron. Sic. *loc. cit.*

further conquest, and desirous of obtaining a better harbour for his fleet to winter in, resolved on making himself master of Syracuse. After reinforcing the places already occupied, he proceeded thither towards the end of October, and found the city in a state of confidence and prosperity worthy of its ancient reputation.

The formidable army of James having encamped along the coast from which modern Syracuse, (at that time but a sorry fragment of the ancient city of the same name,) juts out as a peninsula, proceeded to spread itself over the surrounding country, plundering and spoiling. The engines were plied against the castle which guards the isthmus, and furious assaults attempted both by sea and land; but without making any impression upon the strong and faithful city, commanded by the gallant John Chiaramonte. He scorned even to listen to the messages of the artful King of Aragon, and discovering a conspiracy entered into by some priests, who, combining simony with treason, had agreed, for the promise of ecclesiastical dignities, to betray the tower of the Porta Saccara into the hands of the enemy, he inflicted upon them the penalty of death. The citizens

endured the pangs of hunger with unflinching constancy, and for four months and a half the King of Aragon in vain expended all the resources of strategy in pressing the siege. Meanwhile the invading host was thinned both by sword and pestilence; nor was its influence more widely extended on the eastern than it had been on the northern coast. Buscemi, Palazzolo, Sortino, Ferla, and Buccheri, surrendered themselves, and Buccheri a few days after returned to its allegiance. King James having sent the Count of Urgel with a troop of horse and foot to reduce it once more, its inhabitants, brave and hardy peasants according to Speciale, poured upon him from their lofty position such a tempest of stones that he was forced to retreat with considerable injury. But these men, who owed their victory to a popular impulse, were seized in the night with an idle panic lest the enemy should return in greater force; and without waiting to be attacked, abandoned the town which they had so bravely defended in actual conflict. Such is the multitude when destitute of a leader; and such were the passions which blazed up at that time throughout Sicily, even in the most remote villages where was

neither discipline nor authority to convert the impulse of natural daring into effectual and enduring courage.[1]

Frederick, resolving to carry on a guerilla warfare against an enemy whom he was not strong enough to face in the field, assembled all the forces he could muster at Catania, sufficiently near the enemy to enable him, without giving battle, to prevent them from spreading through the island; nor would Frederick leave this important position, even on the invitation of the city of Patti, which, returning to its allegiance, urged him to undertake the siege of the castle, into which the hostile garrison had retired. He sent thither a band of Catalans under Ugone degli Empuri, of Messinese under Benincasa d'Eustazio, and of Catanese under Napoleone Caputo, and other Sicilian leaders. From Catania he sent messages to the Syracusans, encouraging them to hold out, granting them, perhaps assistance, and certainly great concessions of franchises from customs dues, and permission to cut wood in the royal forests. He, moreover, restored their territory to its ancient limits, and bestowed on them a grant of

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 5. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 59.

several farms.[1] Not far from the king was stationed Blasco Alagona, with a handful of picked men, to hover round the enemy's camp, says Speciale, like a wolf which dares not attack the dogs, though urged to rapine by hunger. About this time, Giovanni Barresi, a Sicilian baron of illustrious lineage, from indifference to the public weal and overmuch cunning in speculating for his own advantage,[2] delivered to the enemy the strongholds of Naso and Capo d'Orlando in the north, and Pietraperzia, a place of great strength, in the heart of the island. Hoping to find here a secure asylum, James's mercenary horse adventured themselves further into the interior of the country than they had hitherto done. Blasco, informed of this by his spies, laid in wait for them at Giarratana, on their return from Pietraperzia; and one tempestuous night, as, laden with booty,

[1] Testa, Vita di Federigo II. docum. 9.

[2] Such I conceive to be the meaning of the words of Speciale: "Plus sapere quam oportebat attentans, neque intelligens verbum illud: cum possidente possideas." This traitor was of great service to the cause of the enemy, as is proved by several diplomas in the Archives of Naples, conferring recompenses upon him and his brother Fulcone, who had followed his fortunes. Di Gregorio, Bibl. Arag. vol. ii. p. 250, publishes a diploma of Frederick, in which the castle and town of Naso, once possessed by John and Matthew Barresi, traitors, are granted to Blasco Alagona.

they were returning in fancied security to the camp, they found themselves suddenly entangled in Blasco's ambuscade, in a country with which they were but imperfectly acquainted, not knowing how to defend themselves, nor whither to fly. Berenger, and Raymond Cabrera, Alvaro, brother of the Count of Urgel, with many others, were taken prisoners; only a few effected their escape. And Blasco, exulting in his first victory over the Catalans, conducted the prisoners to Frederick at Catania, the privates bound together with ropes in files of ten, and the leaders unbound, but with a powerful escort.[1]

At sea, a yet more signal advantage was obtained. On the tidings of the siege of the Castle of Patti, three hundred horse commanded by the admiral, and twenty galleys laden with provisions under John Loria, were detached to its relief. The admiral, with his usual daring and success, passing through the midst of a hostile country, reached Patti, and raised the siege, as the Sicilians, according to the plan originally laid down, avoided coming to an engagement; and

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 6, 7.

Roger having relieved with fresh troops the garrison, wearied with the siege and whose faith began to waver, returned with all speed to the camp. The squadron of John Loria soon after reached Patti, and re-victualled the castle, but did not effect its return so happily; for Frederick, taking advantage of the favourable opportunity offered him of engaging a detached portion of the enemy's naval force, hastened from Catania to Messina and threw himself upon the loyalty of the citizens, conjuring them to man the fleet. He had little difficulty in stirring them up, so that sixteen galleys were in readiness when they learnt from their scouts that the Catalan squadron was sailing in the waters of Mirto, and immediately after the foremost galleys hove in sight, endeavouring, as the wind failed them, to pass the Straits by dint of oars. Then through every street of Messina rang the blast of the trumpet; old and young, fully armed, crowded to the beach; the brother, says Speciale, called the brother to arms; the father sought not to restrain the sons from following him into danger; all were animated by one common wish, either to perish,

or to be avenged on the Catalans, mercenary depredators, who had come hither to wage an unjust war against those to whom they owed their deliverance by the victory of Rosas. The Messinese galleys bore down upon the enemy, in disorder, indeed, but with such headlong fury, that even this could not deaden the shock of the onset. After a brief struggle and without much loss to themselves, they defeated the enemy, who had, moreover, the disadvantage of the wind. Each Messinese galley captured a Catalan, the remaining four escaped by flight; but John Loria was of the number of the prisoners. On the return of the victors, it was no unprecedented spectacle at Messina to behold a king mingling with the warriors and the people, shedding tears of gratitude; and women hastening to deposit at the foot of the altar the offerings that, as anxious spectators of the battle, they had vowed to make. The prisoners of distinction were confined in the castle, those of lesser note in the other prisons of Messina and Palermo: they were for the most part Catalans; and as that resentment is usually the keenest which succeeds to friendship and mutual obligations, the Sicilians, embittering their

captivity by mockery, nicknamed them "garfagnini." [1]

After this disaster the enemy derived little benefit from the rebellion of Gangi. The traitor Barresi, Thomas of Procida, and Bertram de Cannelli, a Catalan, hastened thither to encourage the town to resistance, but a hostile Sicilian force appeared before it no less promptly, under Matthew of Termini, the chief justiciary, a man of recent distinction now rising into power at the Court of Frederick, and Henry Ventimiglia Count of Geraci and of Ischia, of an ancient and noble house, whose enmity to the Angevin race was of long standing; finding Gangi to be a place of great strength, and its inhabitants obstinate in their determination, they laid waste the

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 7, 8. Tolomeo da Lucca, Ann. in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 1303. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 60; with a little variation as to the number of the galleys. I have not been able to discover any satisfactory explanation of this nickname, "garsagnini," or "garfagnini," with which the Catalan prisoners were taunted. That which seems to me the most plausible is, that it may have been a transposition of "grafagnini, grifagnini, grifagni," from "grifagno," predatory, as "uccello grifagno," a bird of prey; or derived from "aggraffare," in the Sicilian dialect "aggranfari," to seize upon, to take by force. It would not be unnatural that our warrior citizens should bestow on James's mercenaries the epithets of spoilers, plunderers, and rapacious brigands.

surrounding country.[1] But the conflict in the Straits led to another and more important consequence; for when the flying vessels reached the camp before Syracuse, James, Robert, the legate and the principal captains assembled in council, to deliberate upon the effectual resistance of Syracuse, which was not easily to be overpowered; the diminution of the army by many thousands;[2] the loss to the fleet which they, in a hostile country, would be unable to repair, though the Sicilians, encouraged by victory, might easily augment theirs; while a chief consideration undoubtedly was the prolonged duration of the war and the failing funds for the Catalan troops.[3] For all these reasons a retreat was determined upon at the suggestion of Peter Cornel, one of the foremost of James's *condottieri*. The goods and tents of most value were embarked, the camp was set on fire, and the fleet set sail in a northerly direction. Leaving about five hundred horse and two thousand foot in the strongholds occupied by him, the King of Aragon, before finally quitting Sicily, halted at Milazzo,

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 9.

[2] Speciale speaks of a loss of 18,000 men; but this seems impossible.

[3] Testa, docum. 16.

and demanded from Frederick the restitution of the sixteen galleys and of the prisoners, promising that he would never again return to do him injury. Perhaps on this occasion it would have been as desirable to listen to James as it had formerly been to turn a deaf ear to his overtures, and Vinciguerra Palizzi warmly advocated the former course in the councils of the king, representing that a trifling act of vengeance might well be sacrificed to obtain so great an advantage. Conrad Lancia, on the other hand, urged Frederick to follow up his success, and rejecting all proffers of conciliation, to go forth at once with the fleet to combat the flying Catalans. The king, who knew not how to guide his course except by the counsels of others, followed from habit that of Conrad. He returned a refusal to the orators of the King of Aragon, and, his anger being excited afresh by some saying of Roger Loria which in an evil hour had been reported to him, he hastened the execution of John Loria and James Rocca, who had been condemned to death as traitors by the supreme court; a just sentence, but which afterwards entailed much suffering upon Sicily. The fleet having

been made ready for sea in the space of a few days, Frederick more than ever enraged against his brother, embarked and went forth to give him battle; but in this he was disappointed, owing to a tempestuous wind which sprang up, and to the prudence of James, who chose rather to face the fury of the elements than that of his brother; whether from a lingering feeling for the ties of kindred, or consciousness of his own weakness, we pretend not to say. Having lost two vessels amongst the Lipari Islands, he returned in March, 1299, to Naples, where his Queen Blanche bore him a son; where a short but sharp illness brought him to the verge of the grave; and whence, no sooner had he risen from his sick bed than he hastened back to Spain to secure his menaced frontiers. Frederick, his fleet severely injured by the tempest, returned to the harbour of Messina. It was long before Pietraperzia was subdued by Manfred Chiaramonte, and Gangi by the king himself with a larger army and after a more laborious siege, at the end of which the three aforesaid barons were suffered to depart, in accordance with the terms of the surrender. The places occupied by the enemy near Syracuse were also

recovered. Those on the west coast, obstinately besieged by Frederick, were on the eve of surrendering, notwithstanding the succours from Naples, when they were relieved by a fresh invasion of the Catalans.[1]

Thus while slackening their efforts during the spring of 1299, both parties laboured to recruit their strength for a renewal of the conflict. Pope Boniface, who gloried in the master stroke of letting loose one brother against the other, so much as to record it amongst the chiefest of his acts for the benefit of Christianity, and to boast of the vigils spent in planning, and the funds lavished in effecting it,[2] now took the kingdom of Aragon under the protection of the Church, in order that during the absence of the king, no attempt might be made upon it by the neighbouring powers. He granted to James the ecclesiastical tithes of his own dominions, for the prosecution of the Sicilian war; and the bishop elect of Salerno, as papal Legate, to distribute censures

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 10, 11. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 60, 61. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book v. ch. 37, 38, Concerning the illness of James at Naples, and the birth of his son.

[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1298, § 17, Brief addressed to the Patriarch of Armenia, 26th October, year 4.

and pardons;[1] but this time he was less prodigal of funds. This damped the zeal of James, who had already begun to repent, but who, nevertheless, returned to Naples towards the end of May,[2] because in the preceding year, trusting to the subsidies of Charles and of Boniface, he had engaged to pay his troops himself, and thus was compelled by his own debts to continue in the service of the two Italian potentates, and to redouble his exertions to command success. It seems that at this period an unexpected hope of liberty dawned upon the captive sons of Manfred, Henry, Frederick, and Enzo, owing to the necessity under which Charles II. was placed of doing the pleasure of the King of Aragon in every thing which lay in his power, or from some other motive which we cannot divine; and also that the intentions or wishes of James speedily vanished before the suggestions of state policy, which demanded the living death of the rightful heirs of the throne of Sicily. It has already been stated that they, as well as their sister Beatrice, passed from the cradle to the oblivion and darkness of a prison.

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1299, §§ 1, 2, Briefs of the 7th and 8th June.

[2] Zurita, Ann. of Arag. book v. ch. 37, 38.

After the first victory in the Bay of Naples, Roger Loria demanded indeed the restoration of Beatrice, the younger sister of Queen Constance; but not that of the three young princes, who would have contested the claims of the House of Aragon upon Sicily, and who, if not by the court at any rate by the people, were believed to be defunct. Charles II., on the 25th of June, 1299, commanded one of his knights to bring them forth from the Castle of St. Maria del Monte; to furnish them with garments and horses, and to send them free to the Court of Naples. But history makes no mention of them, and it is evident that either the grandsons of the great Frederick became the victims of some foul crime, or that their liberation was countermanded, and themselves speedily reconsigned to their prison, in order that the great Sicilian question might not be still further complicated by the claims of these pretenders.[1]

The King of Aragon, who, it is evident, must have acquiesced without much resistance in the unhappy fate of his mother's brothers, spared no means of extracting supplies from the exhausted

[1] See two diplomas in the Royal Archives of Naples, register of Charles II. marked 1299.

treasury of Naples. He came to an understanding with his father-in-law, that the latter should defray the remaining expenses of the late expedition, minutely calculated by the commissioners of the two kings to amount to 20,489 ounces of gold, with which Charles burdened the whole of his dominions, but especially Sicily, in the event of its reacquisition; it being further promised, that on the resumption of the war, the King of Aragon should be supplied with ready money, and that in future the subsidies should not be wanting. These heavy expenses added to the impoverishment of the Court of Naples, which insufficiently aided rather by benevolences implored from the people than by regular taxation, we find at this time selling its jewels, and hastily entering into engagements with Tuscan merchants who furnished loans, discounted bills of exchange, and, as in dealings with bankrupts, took in payment the revenues which afforded the most rapid returns.[1] The same is indicated by the meagre and reluctant pay furnished to James's

[1] The Florentine merchants, especially the company of the Bardi, lent money to Charles, taking the export of corn as security.

troops; and by the eagerness of the Court of Rome in exacting from that of Naples a promise of the value of so many farms, for the enormous mass of debt which had accumulated, in the form of arrears of tribute due to the Church, loans contracted from her merchants, and subsidies for the war, and for the portion of the princess by means of which the alliance of the King of Aragon was purchased.[1] It was, moreover, owing to these embarrassments that King Charles beheld private feuds and acts of violence breaking forth throughout the kingdom of Naples, as the natural consequence of the weakness of the government. He had even occasion to fear the inclination of his subjects to intrigue with the Sicilian rebels; and was compelled to appoint magistrates with extraordinary powers in the more important cities, where the customary authority proved an insufficient restraint.[2] It was all these causes united which paralysed the warlike exertions of a kingdom which had formerly armed and equipped so many fleets and armies against Sicily; and whose

[1] Information concerning the pecuniary transactions connected with the war is to be found in numerous diplomas in the Royal Archives of Naples, register marked 1299.

[2] Diplomas in the Royal Archives of Naples, *Reg. cit.* 1299.

failure in subduing her was certainly not to be ascribed to insufficiency either in the amount of its forces, or in the magnitude of its preparations.

Charles was now compelled to borrow a fleet from Spain, to which he added nothing but a few galleys and oarsmen, with some provisions and equipments, the result of those last desperate efforts to raise money. Scarcely less deplorable was the condition of the army, composed of feudal militias, companies of adventurers, and a few bands of infantry furnished by the cities; which was unable even to dislodge from the mainland the Sicilian hordes, a motley array of marauders without discipline and without pay. Not to speak of the Calabrias, which could easily obtain succour from Sicily, the small towns of Principato itself, and the islands within sight of Naples, defied all the efforts of King Charles; and he was reduced to seek assistance from treachery, James aiding him with his influence over his old Sicilian and Spanish *condottieri*, who now sided with Frederick. In the brave Roger Sanseverino, Count of Marsico, and that Roger Sangineto, who so well imitated the Roman virtue in its sternest and most unnatural form, Charles found skilful

auxiliaries in these new paths. It was purposed to send the Catalan fleet against Ischia, Procida, and Capri, hostile posts which caused much uneasiness to the Angevin government, and to let loose upon them the marauders of Naples, Capua, and Aversa, to sack and spoil the country. It is not distinctly shown whether the enterprise failed or was abandoned. Certain it is, that the three islands held out until after the defeat of Capo d'Orlando. Sanseverino proceeded to Castell' Abate, on the southern point of the Gulf of Salerno, not so much to attack it as to carry on a traitorous intrigue with some Spanish and Sicilian "almugaveri" of the garrison, who soon after went over to the Angevin army. Compelled either by these traitors or by the citizens, Apparente di Villanova captain of the castle, at the beginning of March, 1299, agreed to deliver it up, upon condition of security for the persons and property of his followers, as well as of the inhabitants to whom great immunities were to be granted, if within thirty days he were not relieved by Frederick, who, being unable to send any succour, Castell' Abate at length surrendered, the princes Robert and Philip making a formal

demonstration of advancing against it with a powerful Neapolitan army. It seems to have been by similar means that Rocca Imperiale and Ordeolo, towns of Basilicata and Val di Crati, to reduce which great exertions were made, returned to the allegiance of the King of Naples. The Castle of Squillaci maintained a stout resistance. Otranto was sold by the traitor Berenger degli Intensi, a Catalan, who with his band of adventurers passed over to the enemy, to whom his fidelity afterwards appeared so doubtful that he was thrown into prison, but released on the intercession of James, in whom such caitiffs found a ready patron. Several others at the same time abandoned the cause of Frederick, thinking like Berenger to cloak their treason and its price by giving out that they received from the enemy the stipends which they could not obtain from the King of Sicily,—though it is probable, that in this matter they did not hesitate to add falsehood to the yet baser guilt which they had incurred. Thus James intrigued with the Castellan of San Giorgio in Calabria, and won him over to the Angevin side. Guidone di Spitafora, who governed the town of Taverna in Calabria in the name of

Frederick, giving ear to the seductions of Sangineto, betrayed his trust, and in recompense obtained the town in fief, Sangineto persuading him by a similar bribe to deliver up also Martorano, another town in Calabria. The convulsions and perils of the state tended to the corruption of private individuals; ambition and weakness, to that of Charles II. himself, whom neither the sense of justice nor Christian piety could restrain, not only from fomenting treason in the two above-mentioned instances, but from outraging all decency on both these occasions, by writing in his Latin diplomas, "Honor est quod onus alleviat" —a wretched pun in the language in which it was written, a blasphemy in that of uprightness.[1]

Frederick, on the other hand, the chief magistrate of a nation purified by the ordeal of the revolution, having called a parliament at Messina, arrayed in his regal robes, opened his harangue from the throne in the words of the prophet:[2]— "Let me die in battle rather than behold the afflictions of thy people." He painted in vivid

[1] The above account of the events of the war is drawn from numerous diplomas in the Royal Archives of Naples. Register of Charles II. marked 1299.

[2] Q.—What prophet?—*Trans.*

colours the ingratitude of James, now returning with fresh forces and with two princes of the House of Anjou, to wage war against his brother and against that Sicily which had trained him to glory, and whom he was preparing to recompense by spoiling and laying waste her fields, ruining her cities, and shedding for a paltry price the blood of her children. "But," continued Frederick, "be it ours to save the wealth of our soil by forestalling the attack. While the forces of the realm are yet unbroken, let us give battle on the seas to those old enemies, whose banners are hanging by hundreds as trophies in our temples; and to those new adversaries far more unjustly armed against us; so that, as in the first struggle we overthrew them, God shall now utterly confound them. Ours is the cause of nations; we shall do battle for our country, and for our homes." His words were cut short by the characteristic ardour of the Sicilians, which broke out in a thundering shout of "War!" The whole nation united in execrating the perfidy of James, in demanding arms, in urging one another to battle and to slaughter. A summons being issued to the feudataries and burgesses, they hastened, full

of eagerness, to Messina. The fleet of forty galleys was got in readiness; and hearing that the enemy had already put to sea, no sooner were the crews embarked than King Frederick came on board the *Capitana*, rich in gilding and decorations, and all sails were set. The citizens of Messina, crowding to the port, sped them on their way with mingled tears, and prayers, and shouts of exultation.[1]

On the same day the waters of Messina were ploughed by the Catalan fleet, which, having been refitted on James's return, and reinforced by a few Neapolitan galleys, put to sea on the 24th of June, bearing on board the King of Aragon with Robert Duke of Calabria, Philip Prince of Taranto, and Roger Loria, all burning with eagerness, Loria to avenge the death of his nephew, the Catalans to wipe out the disgrace of their defeat, James to bring the war to a speedy termination. They had reached the Lipari Islands and were steering their course towards the nearest point on the coast of Sicily, when a light Sicilian bark sent forth to reconnoitre, returned under press of sail and oar, to give notice of their

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 12, 13.

approach to our fleet, which, having passed the Straits, was making itself master of Milazzo. The crews thereupon strained every nerve at the oars, eager to prevent the landing of the invaders; but owing either to the tardiness of the tidings, adverse winds, or the greater skill of the hostile admiral, on rounding the Capo d'Orlando, they came in sight of the enemy, who, having gained the beach of San Marco at the mouth of the river Zappulla, had cast anchor, and awaited them ranged in order of battle, their prows fronting the sea. On perceiving the foe a shout of exultation burst from the Sicilian crews; the naval war-cry, "Aur, Aur!" borrowed from the Catalans themselves, thundered to the sky, and with frantic eagerness, they bore down upon them in disorder. Frederick succeeded with much difficulty in curbing this reckless impetuosity, which was so much the more imprudent, that from hour to hour a reinforcement of eight galleys of Val di Mazzara, under Matthew di Termini, was expected from the waters of Cefalù. Meanwhile the day wore away; the hostile vessels were ranged in such close array hugging the shore, that, according to the opinion of the more

experienced, not even the Venetian and Genoese fleets, joined with ours, would have had power to break their line. To the positive commands of the king the crews yielded an unwilling and dissatisfied obedience, murmuring against him, and asking, "What means this? does he sleep? or does he forget whom he commands? Is Frederick afraid? or does he seek to spare his brother, and to save him from our hands?" Thus, puffed up by so many years of success which they ascribed to their own valour alone, careless alike whether they had an admiral, or merely a nominal leader to command them, or on which side the great Loria now fought, that summer night was to them one of weariness and impatience, and the sky smiled serenely down upon the restless chafings of human hearts, burning with deadly ire and wild visions of strife and glory, booty, vengeance, and terror. The cautious James disembarked his horses and baggage, and all those who seemed least calculated to aid in the conflict; he summoned the garrisons of the towns; and the next morning at daybreak, standing on the beach in the midst of his barons, he boastfully harangued the crews. He spoke to them of obedience to the

Holy See; of their ancestors who had always combated for the faith; said that if he himself had vacillated for a time, he had afterwards turned from the error of his ways, and being admonished that the soul of his father, tortured by cruel sufferings, could not be saved until Sicily should have surrendered, in the struggle between filial and fraternal affection the former had triumphed. "And," added he, "since our return to the path of duty, what injuries have we not suffered from this indomitable Sicilian brood, whose instructors we ourselves have been in the art of war! Now behold them here before us, inferior in numbers, inferior in vessels, and yet puffed up with such presumptuous confidence against God and man! Catalans, be it yours to chastise them!"

Thereupon he embarked with all the host. His fifty-six galleys were ranged in line with extended wings, in order to outflank the lesser line of the Sicilians. In the centre was the *Capitana*, with the king and the two sons of Charles II. Opposite to it Frederick had taken up his position with nineteen galleys on his right, and twenty on his left. Bernard Ramondo, Count of Garsiliato, commanded on the stern of his galley; Ugone

degli Empuri, created Count of Squillaci, on the fore; while in the centre, Garzia di Sancio, with a knot of chosen warriors, guarded the royal standard. On both sides were familiar faces, friends and kinsmen. The leaders were two brothers, as in a civil war. Hence it was with twofold fury that both the hostile fleets advanced to the attack shortly after sunrise on Saturday, the 4th of July, 1299. The enemy had the beach of San Marco in their rear, and the Capo d'Orlando on their right. The Sicilians stood in from the open sea. Then was heard a blast of trumpets—a confused shout—a splash of oars—and the intervening waters vanished in an instant.

Missiles were discharged for some time, and not without effect. But Gombaldo degli Intensi, a fiery youth, thirsting after glory, and eager, perhaps, to wash out the stain brought upon his name by the treason of his brother, disdaining this method of fighting at a distance, cut the cable which united his galley with the rest, and bore down upon the enemy's line. Three vessels immediately engaged him, in front and on either flank, grappling with and endeavouring to board him; while Gombaldo nobly atoned for his

temerity, by the valour with which, although wounded, he defended himself and repulsed the enemy in this unequal struggle. The whole front being now engaged, the showers of stones and darts became thicker and more murderous; the vessels rushed upon one another, prow against prow, flank against flank, oar against oar, the battle was carried on with great slaughter and equal advantage, until the sixth hour of the day. Frederick sought out James, and only the entangled press of conflicting galleys, separating them forcibly, prevented so fearful an encounter. The fierce July sun, that day even more burning than usual, combined with fear, rage, fatigue, and loss of blood, awoke in the combatants an insatiable thirst, which, writes Speciale, neither wine nor water availed to quench. Gombaldo, parched, exhausted, his vital strength expended by so many hours of furious battle, sought a moment's repose, lay down upon his shield, and expired. His reckless courage led to the defeat of which his death gave the signal. The enemy at length obtained possession of his vessel; the entanglement of their oars and cables embarrassed our remaining

galleys, when suddenly they found themselves attacked in the rear by six vessels detached for the purpose by Loria. Then, seeing all hope of victory lost, there was a pause in the resistance, a moment's hesitation, and six galleys took to flight.

Frederick, as historians relate, when he beheld the defection of his followers, resolved not to survive it. He entreated Blasco to fight side by side with him to the last gasp; cried to the crew "that he had nothing now but his life to give for his people;" and was about to dash desperately in amongst the hostile vessels, when on a sudden, overpowered by the violence of his emotion superadded to heat and fatigue, he fell senseless upon the deck.

Great was the anxiety of his faithful adherents. What was to be done with the person of the king, when every moment might be decisive of life or death? The Count of Garsiliato was for surrendering Frederick's sword to the enemy; but Ugone degli Empuri carried the day, and gave orders to steer for Messina. Thanks to the desperate exertions of the oarsmen, the *Capitana* escaped from the pursuit of the enemy, and with

her twelve other galleys. Blasco, who during the battle had never lost sight of his beloved prince, when he saw the flight of his galley, postponing every other consideration to the safety of Frederick, commanded his crew to follow, and his standard-bearer to turn the standard. The standard-bearer replying that he would never see Blasco Alagona leave the battle, ran his head against the mast with such violence that he sank down almost lifeless and expired the next day. Ferrando Perez was his name. The defeat was marked by other remarkable incidents. Vinciguerra Palizzi, recently created Great Chancellorof the kingdom in the room of Conrad Lancia, who, happily for him, died before this disastrous day,[1] was sought out with deadly purpose by the admiral, owing to an old grudge, and being overpowered by four galleys, after a gallant defence, he sprang into a little boat which chanced to be at hand, and took refuge on board another vessel. In like manner, Alafranco di San Basilio, and several other nobles,

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 14. The period of the death of Conrad Lancia, may likewise be gathered from a diploma of the 15th of June, 1299, signed by Vinciguerra Palizzi, chancellor of the kingdom, in Testa, Op. cit. docum 17.

escaped by swimming. The greater part, overcome by numbers, fought on with blind fury, until the enemy having boarded the galleys, a general massacre commenced, urged on by the stern voice of the admiral, crying, "Vengeance for John Loria!" Nobles and plebeians fell beneath the strokes of bludgeons, knives, and axes, or were flung into the sea; till at length, moved to compassion, the soldiers paused. But the admiral still continued to urge the butchery, visiting the captured vessels, and showing himself most of all furious against the Messinese, of whom the slaughter was terrific. Frederick and Perrone Rosso, Ansalone and Raymond Ansalone, James Scordia, James Capece, and other nobles of Messina, were amongst the slain. At length, for very weariness, they began to make prisoners, and to lay hands upon the booty. Peter Salvacossa, who fled, not to Messina with the king, but to Ischia, basely sought to obtain the favour of the victors by the surrender of the island,[1] which

[1] Diploma of Charles II. in the Royal Archives of Naples, register marked 1299, 1300, C. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book v. ch. 37, 38.

three years before he had defended with such admirable courage. Eighteen galleys were captured, and six thousand Sicilians perished in the conflict, or by the fury of the victors.

Such was the battle of the Capo d'Orlando; lost by the incapacity of the commander, and the numerical weakness and temerity of the combatants. And then—lamentably exclaims Speciale, transported with love and grief for his country—then for the first time was shown the possibility of conquering the Sicilians on the sea, where for seventeen years, in various wars, in desperate encounters, and on remote shores, they had run an uninterrupted course of signal success.[1] The Guelf historians, anxious to shed disgrace upon the Sicilians, at a conjuncture in which defeat was scarcely less honourable than victory, repre-

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 13. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 62, 63, and a diploma of Frederick there transcribed, dated the 6th of July, 1299. See also Annali di Forlì, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xxii. p. 174. Chronicle of Bologna, ibid. vol. xviii. p. 304, with some errors as to date and amount of the forces. Cronaca di Cantinelli, in Mittarelli, Rer. Faventinarum Script. Venice, 1771, p. 311. Ferreto Vicentino, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. Tolomeo di Lucca, ibid. vol. xi. p. 1303. Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 29, whose information concerning this war appears to have been very incorrect; amongst other things, he states Frederick Doria, of whom our historians make no mention, to have been admiral of the Sicilian fleet.

sent the fortunes of Sicily as utterly lost, every means of defence swept away, and subjugation inevitable, if James had but so willed it. They even ascribe the escape of Frederick to his connivance; which statements are not only improbable, but untrue, as subsequent events sufficiently prove.

CHAPTER XVII.

JAMES, LEAVING ROBERT IN SICILY, RETURNS TO NAPLES, AND THENCE TO CATALONIA.—BOTH PARTIES PREPARE TO CONTINUE THE WAR IN SICILY.—SEVERAL CITIES GIVE THEMSELVES UP TO ROBERT; CHIARAMONTE IS TAKEN; OTHERS HOLD OUT.—TREACHERY OF SOME CITIZENS BY WHICH THE ENEMY IS ADMITTED INTO CATANIA.—EFFECT PRODUCED IN THE ISLAND.—MEASURES TAKEN BY POPE BONIFACE.—DISEMBARKATION OF THE PRINCE OF TARANTO.—BATTLE OF FALCONARIA, IN WHICH HE IS DEFEATED AND CAPTURED.—ARTIFICE AND BATTLE OF GAGLIANO.—JULY, 1299, TO FEBRUARY 1300.

This victory was embittered to James by shame, remorse, and the loss of life amongst his followers. On reviewing the Catalans, and becoming aware of the vast numbers of the slain, both *condottieri*, nobles, and privates, he exclaimed that this unhappy day was not one of victory to him. But when the long lines of Sicilian prisoners were brought before him, he bowed his head in shame, and found no word of reply to an aged man, who, writes Speciale, stood forth from the crowd, and cast in his teeth all the bitterest invectives with which

his former subjects had loaded him ever since his first abandonment of their cause. "We do not ask of thee," he exclaimed, "the blood which was shed by us to maintain thee on the throne, for that thou canst not, neither wouldest thou restore; but let the Catalan nation, so proud of its liberties and of its honour, let it give back those Sicilian galleys which wrought its deliverance, and which were swallowed up by the tempest in the Gulf of Lyons." Such expressions, whether really used on this occasion, or imagined by the historian to represent the state of public feeling, rankled the more deeply in the minds of the Catalans, on account of the little benefit which accrued to them from the guilt of their king. And, in fact, all the cost of the Sicilian campaign fell to the share of James, all the gain to that of the House of Anjou; even the stipends were ill paid, owing to the poverty of Charles and perfidy of Boniface, who had indeed supplied funds for the armament, but closed his purse-strings when he believed James to be involved in the struggle beyond the possibility of drawing back. Hence the King of Aragon, who was second to none in penetration, hastened to extri-

cate himself from the toils.[1] He crossed over to Calabria, to fetch the feudal militias of the kingdom of Naples assembled at Nicotra;[2] conveyed them across to Sicily; and having assembled the leaders of the host, with Robert and Philip, declared to them openly, that he had fulfilled his promise to the Pontiff, and crushed the forces of Sicily; that he now beheld the Angevin army in so flourishing a condition that Robert, with the admiral, could easily bring the enterprise to a successful termination; but that, for himself, he was compelled by necessity to return to Catalonia. This was, perhaps, not displeasing to Robert, who was ambitious of glory. The King of Aragon, therefore, master of the diplomacy of war, effected the exchange of the Sicilian prisoners for his own of the preceding year; those that remained over he left to Robert, with the strongholds he had occupied, and many of his most renowned warriors; and himself, with Philip, prince of

[1] Annals of Forlì, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xxii. p. 174. The same reason for the departure of James is assigned in the Cronaca di Cantinelli, quoted in the preceding note, where we read that James returned to Catalonia, "quia dominus papa Bonifacius noluit sibi dare stipendia que sibi promiserat."

[2] This statement of Speciale is supported by documents in the Royal Archives of Naples.

Taranto, set sail for Salerno.[1] In vain King Charles sought to persuade him to stay, promising him an ample pension, derived from the transport of grain in Sicily, to be proportioned to the gradual reconquest of the island.[2] In vain did he grant commercial privileges, in the most flattering terms, to the Catalan merchants; the King of Aragon remained inflexible, for he beheld his ally overwhelmed with debt, and was impatient to detach himself from him. Removing his wife and his afflicted mother from Salerno, James went to Naples, where being coldly received by the king, he made but a brief stay, and set out on his return to Spain, dissatisfied with himself and with others, inveighed against by the new friends whom he was forsaking, and not the less bitterly cursed by Frederick and the Sicilians. It was, indeed, manifest that the King of Aragon, by following up his success, might have inflicted much greater injury upon the country;[3] but past wrongs were remembered, rather than sufferings now

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 15.

[2] Document published by Testa, Op. cit. docum. 19, James was promised 2,000 ounces a year for his life, and 5,000 in case of the reconquest of the whole island.

[3] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 15. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 63.

spared; nor was his departure attributed to moderation or mercy. Indeed, how could such qualities be ascribed to the victor, who, after the heat of battle was over, caused so much noble Sicilian blood to be shed at the Capo d'Orlando?

Meanwhile, adversity restored to Frederick both prudence and dignity. On first recovering consciousness, and seeing himself hurried from the scene of action, he broke forth into passionate entreaties that he might return to seek death in battle, exclaiming that he never would revisit Sicily in defeat; but he soon gave ear to more manly counsels, and resolved to struggle on for the maintenance of his crown. When he reached Messina he found the city plunged in grief and terror, and filled with weeping and lamentation, by certain tidings of the defeat, and confused rumours that the king had fallen in battle; that not one man had escaped; and that nothing now remained to save the country from destruction. Hence, when they beheld Frederick, although a fugitive on board his blood-stained galley, with the relics of the fleet, the grief of the people suddenly changed to rejoicing, all forgetting their private affliction in the hope of salvation for the

commonwealth. The citizens crowded anxiously around him, emulously declaring that they counted their loss for nothing, so long as he was saved, and bidding him take both their lives and their goods for the defence of Sicily. Frederick nobly replied, "that all the affairs of this world were regulated according to the will of God, and human life chequered with mingled prosperity and misfortune; what marvel, then, if after seventeen years of victory, they experienced one defeat? Nor could the campaign be looked upon as lost, when men, arms, and money still remained. Let them but be constant, and fortune would soon turn in their favour; for none had ever conquered Sicily when her sons were unanimous and determined." He wrote immediately to Palermo, and to the other cities, in a strain of equal fortitude, attributing the defeat to the embarrassment caused by the entanglement of the Sicilian galleys amongst themselves; diminishing, as usual in such cases, the amount of loss; admonishing them to make head against the first attacks of the enemy, and promising to hasten himself with fresh forces to the defence of whatever point was menaced. But as time and success alone could

repair the injury caused by so great a shock, Frederick resolved to gain as much as he could of the former, by standing on the defensive; suffering the enemy to spread themselves over the open country at their pleasure, while carefully guarding the fortified places; and throwing himself, with a chosen band, into Castro Giovanni, the ancient Enna, a city of great strength, in a commanding position in the centre of the island, conveniently situated for a descent in any direction that might be required. Having, therefore, invested Niccolò and Damiano Palizzi, brothers of Vinciguerra, with the command of the city and castle of Messina, and placed trusty captains in the other posts of greatest importance, the king prepared to direct his march towards the east coast, put it, as far as practicable, in a state of defence, and then take up his position at Castro Giovanni.[1]

The Angevins, on the other hand, prepared to follow up James's victory. Within three weeks they had regained Capri, Ischia, and Procida, by spreading rumours of warlike preparations, and

[1] Nic. Speciale, book iv. ch. 14. In the Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 62, we find the epistle of Frederick mentioned above, given from Messina, the 6th of July, 1299, and which is also published elsewhere.

still more through the intrigue, mentioned above, with Peter Salvacossa of Ischia, who, on account of his known prowess and recent treachery, was made *protontino* of Ischia, (or as we should now say, vice-admiral,) second only to Loria in the command of the fleet, and received the commendations of the king, and a grant of fiefs in Sicily;[1] but it was not long before the sword of a Sicilian soldier meted out to him a more just reward.

With regard to Sicily, which was not then looked upon in the same light as Ischia, the rulers perceiving that, besides the rapacity and cruelty of the government, those acts of Charles I. which destroyed the ancient privileges of the island had been one of the most powerful causes, both of the Vespers, and of the inveterate hostility with which they were regarded, proceeded once more to make trial of the expedient which had already been attempted in the expedition of 1284 by the haughty Charles of Anjou; and, therefore, on the 24th of July, 1299, his son, taking not a little credit to himself for his device of at once dividing

[1] See several diplomas in the Archives of Naples, register marked 1299; and one of the 4th of August, 1300, showing Salvacossa to have been a native of Ischia.

and uniting the kingdoms, created Robert perpetual Vicar-General of the island, with widely extended authority in all matters of civil administration, together with power of life and death, so that, according to the diploma, he might exhibit in the island a perfect representation of the royal person.[1] Together with documents to this effect, he exerted himself to the utmost to send into Sicily troops, provisions, and money, for the stipends;[2] being well aware that much yet remained to be done, and that it would be long ere he could draw any supplies from the island.

The progress made by Robert was indeed slow at first; not to him, but to the admiral, the fiefs formerly held by the latter—Castiglione, Roccella, and Placa—submitted themselves; and Francavilla would have followed their example, but that it was overawed by the castle, held by Conrad Doria. But when advancing inland from the northern,

[1] Royal Archives of Naples, Reg. of Charles II. marked 1299, A, p. 131. Some other diplomas seem to indicate that the Angevin king designed to make a show of establishing the machinery of a separate administration around the Vicar, and restoring to Sicily those offices of which she had been deprived by the innovations of Charles I.

[2] See many diplomas in the Royal Archives of Naples, register marked 1299.

he sought to reach the eastern coast, Randazzo, the most important city, after Messina, in Val Demone, was the first to show him that the defeat at Capo d'Orlando had not sufficed to conquer Sicily. On being assaulted by Robert, who had previously wasted the surrounding country, the citizens made head against him in many encounters, and especially in one very obstinate and bloody one at the fountain of Roccaro; where some of the bravest of the French having fallen, the duke commanded a retreat, and a few days after, on the advice of Roger Loria, raised the siege, in order to obtain provisions. Hastening, therefore, towards the fruitful country of Etna, he refreshed his army in some degree by the undisputed occupation of Adernò, a place of little strength, and soon proceeded to encamp against the well-appointed fortress of Paternò. It was held by the old Count Manfred Maletta, Great Chamberlain of the kingdom, of noble blood, and high in the favour both of the House of Suabia, and of the princes of Aragon, but a civilian, and unused to hardships; so that from fear, or weariness of the siege, he surrendered on the second day. This was the saving of Robert's army,

which, for want of provisions, would have been compelled within a few days to depart, or to fall into the hands of Frederick. But worse still was the effect of the example thus given; for men are wont to curse the cowardice of others, and at the same time to use it as a pretext for abandoning a fidelity which may cost them dear. Maletta wore out the few remaining years of his life in the enemy's country, aided or insulted by their scanty favours. He died in disgrace and penury; but the world has neither rewards nor punishments adequate to repay the good or evil often entailed upon a whole nation by the acts of one man.[1]

Letters from this traitor placed Buccheri, a place of great strength belonging to him, in the hands of the enemy. The admiral, taking with him a division of the army, and John Callaro, John Landolina, and Thomas Lalia, prisoners taken at the Capo d'Orlando, advanced against Vizzini,

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 1, 2. His death in poverty and shame is recorded by Speciale. Several documents in the Archives of Naples, show that the Court of Anjou at first desired to bestow some dignities upon this great Sicilian feudatary, but looked down upon him with the contempt which must ever be the portion of the traitor.

of which he obtained possession by the treachery of Callaro, who, on showing himself to the citizens in the midst of their vigorous defence, was joyfully received by them on account of his high renown, and iniquitously employed his influence in causing the gates to be thrown open to the admiral. The latter thereupon returned to Palagonia, where, having united his forces to those of Robert, they moved to the assault of Chiaramonte, and refusing the terms demanded by the people, who after the first few skirmishes perceived their inability to defend themselves, took forcible possession of the city, the first which, in the wars of the Vespers, the enemy had conquered by force of arms. Hence they gave here a free course to the savage temper of the times, putting the men to the sword, dashing infants against the stones, and ripping up the bodies of pregnant women; and after all this bloodshed and cruelty, assembling a troop of wretched females, sole remnant of the population of Chiaramonte, they drove them forth and scattered them through the neighbouring towns. The Angevin troops were alone in these acts of vengeance, as they were foremost in those of rapine. The gleanings were gathered after

them by the suttlers of Vizzini, who, to their shame, followed in the rear of the foreign invaders. From Chiaramonte the army took the direction of Catania, and encamped in the vineyards of Arena; but after three days unexpectedly retired, trusting more to intrigue than to force against so powerful a city, commanded by Blasco Alagona. To give time for the work of treason they assaulted Aidone, where they were at first repulsed by the prowess of Giovenco degli Uberti, captain of the city, and on the following day admitted by treaty. But having afterwards encamped before Piazza, they met with a severe check; for William Calcerando, and Palmiero Abate, with a squadron of sixty horse, burst like a thunderbolt through the midst of the assailants, and throwing themselves into the city, reinforced it with all the influence of their names, their valour, and the fame of this recent exploit. In vain the duke, from the side of the plain of San Giorgio, and the admiral from that of the fountain of Vico, pressed the siege, led assaults, or offered terms; the citizens of Piazza replied that their hearts had long been steeled; that they would die, if need be, but never surrender. They

made good their words by an energetic defence, so that Robert, after the loss of many of his followers, raised the siege, vented his rage by sacking the surrounding country, and directed his forces on Paternò.[1]

Frederick meanwhile, knowing Catania to be threatened, had hastened thither from Messina, and had found the enemy gone. In his joy, he summoned the citizens to a parliament, and addressed them in flattering terms of praise, to which Virgilio Scordia, a man in high repute for rigid virtue,[2] and second to none in the city in estimation and influence, replied in the name of all. "Who," exclaimed he, in glowing accents, "who would exchange liberty under such a prince for foreign tyranny? The memory of the latter," he continued, "had not yet faded away; the stones and walls were yet dyed with the blood of the French, admonishing every Sicilian to dread their vengeance; nor was there one amongst them that would not give his life for Frederick, who had grown up in the midst of them, who was

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 3—5.

[2] "Quondam pater patriæ, qui Romanos hactenus redolebas." Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 7.

their king, and had been to them a father. If there be one here present," he concluded, "insane enough to cherish a spirit hostile to thee, let the earth open beneath his feet, and let the thunderbolt consume him!" Such were the words of the traitor, who but a brief space before had bound himself to yield up Catania to the enemy. Frederick, captivated by this appearance of fidelity, debated within his own mind how to reward him, having now become as blindly confident as he had before been mistrustful; so that he regarded Blasco Alagona as a receiver of calumnies, because he revealed to him certain highly suspicious indications of the practices of Scordia. He continued to style the latter the father of his country, and replied to Blasco, that he would rather lose Catania, than sully the fame of so great a man by the semblance of suspicion. Upon this Blasco, either from prudence or indignation, gave up the command of the city; and the king committed it to Count Ugone degli Empuri, a brave soldier, and nothing more, trusting most of all to the popular influence of Virgilio Scordia. Deeming all secure, he then departed, and proceeded to Lentini, Syracuse,

and other considerable towns of Val di Noto, and finally to Castro Giovanni,[1] where he remained a long time; during which he granted or confirmed to the city of Caltagirone many privileges, which show his desire to strengthen his party by the judicious distribution of favours, in pursuance of the system which his enemies employed so perseveringly against him.[2]

There was in Catania one Napoleon Caputo, a citizen inferior in influence to Virgilio, but equal in ambition: both were rivals in the favour of the people and the munificence of the king, and hence had long been at enmity between themselves. But now they went hand in hand in the path of iniquity; for Virgilio, unable to dispense with the assistance of the worst of his fellow-citizens, made overtures to Napoleon, who, as the inferior of the two, eagerly accepted them, similar interests causing the forgiveness of mutual injuries. These two conspiring together, or at least with very few confederates, concealed their designs even from their own partisans, until Frederick,

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 6.

[2] Privileges of Caltagirone, book i. p. 1, 25, 48, quoted by Padre Aprile, Cronologia di Sicilia, ch. 22—25.

desirous of taking the field against the enemy, distressed for want of provisions and who had been repulsed from several important places, summoned the people to arms, and demanded from Catania seven hundred men. The king wrote to this effect to Ugone, who consulted with Virgilio how best to obtain this contingent from the city. Virgilio promised that it should be forthcoming, provided only the people were summoned to a parliament in the cathedral on the following day; he would undertake the rest. With the assistance of Napoleon Caputo, he commenced and completed the organisation of the insurrection in the remaining hours of that day and the succeeding night; that there might be no time for repentance or disclosure, in order to take advantage of the alarm and agitation of those who desire the general good without inconvenience to themselves, and to conceal treason against the nation under pretext of advantage to the city. Thus the plot, which had been hitherto kept profoundly secret and confined to a very few, was in a moment divulged to vast numbers without risk; relations, friends, clients, bravos, all were

pledged, and to each one his post and his duty was assigned.

In the same church of St. Agatha, which five years before had resounded with joyful acclamations, when the representatives of the nation proclaimed Frederick King of Sicily, the people of Catania assembled on the appointed day. Napoleon and the armed conspirators entered one by one; Virgilio, in the garb and semblance of peace, went to the residence of Ugone, and accompanied him to the church. Silence having been proclaimed, the count set forth the wishes of the king. He had not yet finished speaking, when one Florio, a man of the lowest of the rabble, unsheathing his sword, raised the cry of, Peace, and dealt him a blow in the face; the other armed men crowding round him, made themselves masters of his person, and then rushed through the streets shouting for peace, and whoever hesitated to answer, Peace, was compelled to do so by menaces; so that a small faction hurried the whole of the wonder-stricken city into revolution. Without pause or reflection they flung the count and his followers into three boats

prepared for the purpose, Virgilio and Napoleon fiercely urging them on. Count Ugone addressed them by name, imploring them if they had ever suffered injury from him to wash it out in his blood, and not to turn against the king. But they made signs to him to be silent and to steer his course to Taormina. The populace meanwhile sacked his houses, but sent away uninjured some other officials in the service of the king, suffering them to take away all their property. The conspirators instantly summoned Robert, who in doubt and difficulty was retreating to Paternò; delivered the city into his hands, received him with criminal exultation, and asked and obtained from him in reward of their services towns, villages, and fortified places, which he granted the more readily, that they were still in the hands of the enemy, and that he could scarcely credit the good fortune which enabled him to purchase his safety at so little cost. It was undoubtedly the defection of Catania which prevented the decisive effort that Frederick was preparing to make against the wandering and ill-provided forces of the enemy; as undoubtedly was it the cause of the countless miseries which

followed, and of the strenuous exertions which were required to drive the enemy from the soil of Sicily.[1]

This leads me to the consideration, that in feudal times the rulers were not so powerless to maintain themselves against their subjects, as in our day has been assumed from the fact that the power of the state was not then either so great, or so well consolidated as at the present time. It appears to me that if they could not so quickly repress a rebellion, they had yet far more effectual means of extinguishing it, by making feudal concessions of all that which was lost by the rebels; amongst whom many, either in order to preserve their own possessions, or in hopes of obtaining those of the more refractory, were disposed not only themselves to return to their allegiance, but

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 7. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 64. Montaner, after a long silence, resumes his narrative of the events of Sicily, by stating, ch. 190, that Duke Robert was already in Catania, which had been delivered to him by Messer Virgilio, "of Naples," and two other knights. In speaking of these transactions, he shows himself no less unfavourably inclined than ill-informed. The names of the traitors and proofs of the boundless liberality shown them by the Court of Anjou, are to be found in numerous diplomas of the years 1299 and 1300, in the Royal Archives of Naples. The first concessions are dated the 11th of October, 1299, whence we may conclude that the enemy entered Catania on or shortly before that day.

by force, fraud, or intrigue, to subdue their companions in rebellion; while those even who were loyal, were urged on by similar interested motives to exertions which zeal alone would not have produced. One part of the nation thus took up arms against the other far more eagerly than would be the case at the present day, owing to the stable tenure of property, and to the greatly inferior amount of the rewards, in the form of pensions and appointments, which the government has at its disposal. Hence we see how large were the feudal concessions which were at that time made at Catania by Robert, acting with regal authority, and ratified at Naples by Charles, not only to Virgilio Scordia's accomplices in treason, but to the nobles who after it went over to the Angevin side, and amongst whom we find many illustrious names, and many who owed all they had to Frederick. We also see many towns of Val di Noto surrender themselves to the enemy after the occupation of Catania, which appeared to be the climax of the ruin of Sicily. Noto, seduced by the intrigues of Ugolino Callaro,[1] a

[1] Licodia was granted to him in recompense, by a diploma of the 28th of December, 1299, in the Royal Archives of Naples.

man of great reputation, and the intimate companion (*compare*) of the king; Buscemi, Ferla, Palazzolo, and Cassaro, led away by bad example, went over to the enemy; as did likewise Ragusa, where a priest named Omodeo conspired, under the cloak of confession, with several citizens, who, not daring to effect their purpose without the aid of a man of valour named Francis Balena, went by night in arms to his house, threatening his life; and he, feigning to yield to terror, afterwards exerted himself vigorously in favour of this iniquitous design, which he brought to a successful issue, expelling the lieutenant of Manfred, Chiaramonte, who was in command of the town, and summoning William l'Estendard thither from Vizzini.[1] Virgilio Scordia and his fellows, meanwhile, did not rest content with their own treachery, but exerted themselves to draw after them other men and towns, and if it were possible, even the entire island. But the circumstances of the times, and the corruption of political morality throughout Sicily, render it only the more remarkable, that after the defeat of Capo d'Orlando, backed by such vast warlike preparations, the pre-

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 8, 9.

sence of Roger Loria, and the support of the valiant French and Catalan warriors, although about thirty cities, towns, and villages,[1] were delivered by intrigue into the hands of the Angevins, not one, with the exception of Chiaramonte, was reduced by force of arms; and that Frederick, or rather the supporters of the Sicilian revolution who adhered to him, despite the numerous acts of treason above recorded, still held the remainder of the island, and no small portion of Calabria, in the teeth of the enemy.

This was to Pope Boniface the most joyful year of all his turbulent reign. He beheld the hated House of Colonna everywhere prostrated before the armies of the cross; its last relics shut up in the Castle of Palestrina, and that impregnable fortress itself opened to him in consequence of his liberal promises; so that he obtained possession of it, scattered the rebels, razed the city, and in senseless and cruel triumph caused the soil to be ploughed up, and sown with salt.[2] Nor did he

[1] Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 64. "Non tamen quod aliquod ipsorum captum fuerit a dictis hostibus ex prelio sive pugna."

[2] "Lo principe de' nuovi Farisei
Avendo guerra presso a Laterano,
E non con Saracin, nè con Giudei,

exult less over the massacre of Capo d'Orlando, which he called a first step towards the reconquest of Palestine, and which he certainly considered such towards the subjugation of Sicily and the extension of his dominion over all the mainland of Italy, perhaps even into Germany.[1] Then it was that Albert, King of the Romans, having demanded from him the imperial crown, Boniface, seated on his throne, with the diadem of Constantine on his head, the sword at his side, and his hand on the pommel, denied to the ambassadors the right of Albert; saying, "Am not I the supreme Pontiff? Is not this the chair of St. Peter? Am not I able to defend the privileges of the empire? I am Cæsar. I am the emperor." And thereupon he roughly dismissed them.[2] But experienced as he was in matters of state, this arrogant opinion of himself did not

> Che ciascun suo nemico era Cristiano,
> E nessuno era stato a vincer Acri,
> Nè mercatante in terra di Soldano."
>
> *Dante, Inf.* c. 27.

Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 23. Brief of Boniface given the 13th of June, year 5, from Anagni, in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1299, § 6. Ferreto Vicentino, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 970.

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1299, § 4; and 1301, §§ 1, 2.

[2] Francesco Pipino, book iv. ch. 41, 47, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix.

prevent him from giving his most assiduous attention to the Sicilian enterprise, which he had much at heart and was far from looking upon as concluded. In the place of the former legate, who from his want of influence in the island could be of little service, he sent to Catania Cardinal Gherardo of Parma, who in Sicily was regarded as a saint,[1] with full powers to pronounce or retract anathemas; at the same time exhorting Charles and his sons to follow up their success in Sicily. To this effect he wrote letter after letter; and so clear-sighted was Boniface, that he yet made every effort to divert Philip, prince of Taranto, from his meditated attack on the western provinces of the island, where he feared that Frederick might easily overpower him.[2] But all admonitions were thrown away up n the prince, who was ambitious of military glory, and upon Charles, who was always weak with regard to his sons, and now perhaps impatient to extricate himself from the toils of war.

Forty galleys were equipped in Naples, and filled with all the nobles of most renown, whether French or Neapolitan, who yet remained in Terra-

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 9. Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1299, § 4.
[2] Raynald, ibid.

firma, feudal militias, and mercenary soldiers. These forces were marshalled by Prince Philip, aided by the counsel of the most experienced warriors. The vice-admiral, Pier Salvacossa, had the command of the fleet. At the commencement of November, they made sail for Trapani to harass the rich and hitherto uninjured western coast, from which Frederick derived the sinews of his strength. He therefore, on hearing that the enemy had disembarked at Cape Lilibeo, and was wasting the country, and preparing to besiege Trapani by sea and land, in great consternation called his captains together, and took counsel with them what was to be done. Blasco Alagona, either from personal affection for the king, or jealous thirst of glory, wished to go forth against them alone; he expatiated on the dangers by which they were menaced—Robert in their rear, in great force, and near at hand; and Philip with the fleet, able to reembark at pleasure, and postpone the battle until his brother should arrive to enclose the Sicilians between them. He therefore urged the king not to leave the impregnable post of Castro Giovanni; but to entrust to him (Blasco) a force with which he might approach this new enemy, and tempt him to give battle by his evident inferiority

in numbers, swearing that either he would bring back to him the banners of Anjou, or himself remain on the field. No one opposed the words of Blasco. But on the steps of the throne, at Frederick's feet, sate one Sancio Scada, neither eloquent nor esteemed wise, so that, unheeded by all, he sate apart watching and listening to the rest, when the king, proceeding to take the opinion of his counsellors in succession, carelessly turned first to him, and he, shaking his head sadly, thus broke forth with vehemence: "What rash and senseless device is this, O! king, to advance against Philip without your presence! Which of your ancestors, think you, would ever have conquered nations and kingdoms had he not been himself the foremost to combat at the head of his knights amid the thickest of the foe? I feel within my breast that beneath your eye I could do and dare great things, while in your absence my arm would be slack. And Blasco desires that the eyes of all Sicily, turned upon you alone, should see you shun the field of battle like a coward! Blasco confides in his own arm, and insults all beside; Blasco thirsts to obtain the glory for himself alone; but, by God, he knows

not how justly to estimate himself! Let us employ our whole force where our whole fortune is at stake. It will revive, if God now grants us the victory; but if otherwise, whether in honourable defeat, or in disgraceful inactivity, you have nothing but ruin to look forward to."[1] This said, he relapsed into his former silence and indifference.

But the sudden flash of light was not lost upon Frederick; he reflected that one moment's hesitation would cause the loss of Sicily, attacked on two sides, oppressed, and plied with every artifice of seduction; he was moreover goaded on by shame, and by the necessity of wiping out, at the peril of his life, the memory of his defeat at Capo d'Orlando. He left therefore William Calcerando, who was already advanced in years, in command of the garrison of Castro Giovanni; while he himself, with a handful of the citizens, and as many of the feudal militia as were there assembled, marched in the direction of Trapani. Numbers of the people also from Palermo and the neighbouring towns took up

[1] I have here rendered as nearly as may be the text of Speciale, who may perhaps have put his own words into the mouth of Sancio, but doubtless faithfully recorded the sense of the speaker.

arms and hastened to join the army, heedless of the rigour of winter and without waiting for fresh orders; thus our forces by dint of what was, for the period, great expedition, forestalled the danger of the arrival of Robert. They soon came up with the enemy, who, not being in sufficient force to subdue Trapani, was returning to Marsala. The fleet was at a distance, there was no means of avoiding the conflict, and both armies drew up in battle array. In ours it befell, or so it was afterwards related, that one Lopis di Yahim, a soothsayer, approaching the presence of the king prophesied to him in these words:—"Frederick, thou shalt conquer; I alone, with five knights, shall die." "Wherefore then," replied the king, "dost thou not fly? we will fight in the holy name of God." "Such is the decree of fate," said Lopis, "that I should die, and that thou shouldst conquer!" But in relating the event of the battle Speciale forgets these fables.

It was in the extensive plains of Falconaria, eight miles from Trapani, ten from Marsala, and two or three from the sea-shore, that the Sicilian army came up with the enemy, on the first of December, 1299. It was superior in infantry, full

of courage, though deficient in discipline, and aided by a few Catalan troops, but the exact amount of the force is unknown. Of the enemy we know that they had the advantage in cavalry; that a troop of Provençaux was added to the soldiers of the city and kingdom of Naples; and that their horse were six hundred, and their foot many more. Either army was drawn up in three divisions. In that of Anjou Philip commanded on the right, the Marshal Brolio de' Bonsi in the centre, and Roger Sanseverino, Count of Marsico, on the left. Frederick, by the advice of Blasco, opposed Blasco himself to the prince, with a few horse and a squadron of "almugaveri." He occupied the centre in person with the mass of the infantry, and assigned the right to the cavalry of John Chiaramonte, Vinciguerra Palizzi, Matthew di Termini, Berardo di Queralto and Farinata degli Uberti, with the infantry of Castro Giovanni. This division was the first to begin the battle, advancing slowly against Sanseverino. On beholding this, the Prince of Taranto from the opposite wing, sent forward his mounted Provençal archers to make havoc of the "almugaveri," and himself with the men-at-arms in

close array, advanced against the banner of Blasco, which appeared the most conspicuous, the eagles of Frederick not being yet displayed, as the king was engaged in the rear arming new knights on this memorable day. Breathless messengers from Blasco now urged him to mount. Meanwhile the "almugaveri" stood firm, suffering the enemy to approach. When they were within a stone's throw, with their customary shout of "Sharpen your weapons!" they with one accord struck their javelins upon the stones, till, writes Montaner, the whole ground glittered with sparks, to the astonishment and terror of the enemy; and then the conflict began.

The ranks of Blasco wavered for a moment before the charge of the prince, and sharp was the struggle for the possession of the reeling banner; but the tried warriors quickly rallied and would not yield a step. Philip, thereupon, perceiving our centre to have remained a little behind, and attributing this delay to fear, thought to disperse the masses of infantry, and unadvisedly spurred on to the attack, leaving on his right the unbroken ranks of the "almugaveri" with Blasco, who coolly and steadily turned to envelop him.

At this moment a courtier, whose name Speciale, with generous indignation, passes over in silence, believing Blasco to be fallen, cried to the king to fly, — and all might have been lost; but Frederick answered, "Fly thou, traitor,—my duty is here to give my life for Sicily." And commanding his banner to be displayed, with the mere handful of horse which he had alone retained with his division, he dashed the foremost against the cavalry of the prince. In the conflict he gave distinguished proofs of valour. The struggle was engaged hand to hand, the hostile ranks mingled and confounded together, the warriors stimulated by the presence on the one side of the king, on the other of the prince. The blade of Philip gleamed on high; Frederick with sword or truncheon slew many adversaries with his own hand, and received a slight wound in the face and another in the right hand. But at this moment the clash of Blasco's weapons was heard on the left, he having first charged the prince's cavalry with his men-at-arms, and then turned back to hasten the advance of the "almugaveri" who followed him on foot, shouting to them to slay the horses of the enemy. The light and agile

"almugaveri," thereupon, with their short lances, sprang into the midst of the *mêlée* mingling in the ranks of the enemy's cavalry. One of them, if we may believe Montaner, pierced through and through with his javelin a knight who had sheltered himself with his shield; another, named Porcello, with a stroke of his scimitar severed the leg of a mail-clad French warrior, laying open at the same time the flank of his charger. So great was the havoc they made among the horses, that in the confusion many were slain belonging to Frederick's knights. Lacerated in front by the forces of the king, on the right by the "almugaveri," the cavalry of Philip turned to fly. The left wing, notwithstanding the valour of Count Roger Sanseverino, had reaped little advantage against the flower of the Sicilian nobles. The centre division, strong in two hundred Neapolitan horse, scarcely took part in the conflict, owing to the error of Philip in occupying the battle ground in their front; but Marshal Broglio, who commanded it, was found on the field pierced by a hundred wounds, surrounded by the corpses of his brave French warriors.

Philip, amid the battle, found himself con-

fronted by one Martin Perez de Ros, a man of great strength and valour, who struck him a blow with his truncheon; the prince dealt him in return two thrusts through the joints of his cuirass; but the Catalan having in vain tried with his steel every part of the armour of his opponent, at length wounded him slightly through the vizor; they then wrestled together, and both fell from their horses locked in each other's grasp. Martin at length got the better of his unknown adversary, and was raising his dagger to despatch him, when the latter exclaimed, "Holy Virgin! I am Philip of Anjou." Whereupon Martin withheld the blow but without releasing the prince, and shouted aloud for Blasco, who was engaged at no great distance in completing the rout of the enemy, and who, unwilling to desist and boiling with ardour and fury, replied by commanding two "almugaveri" to "cut his throat, and let him pay the penalty of the murder of Conradin." And thus Philip of Anjou would have died the death of a felon, but that on a sudden a shout was raised in the Sicilian host, "The enemy, the enemy!" as the flight of the right wing exposed to view the two hundred Neapolitan horse

of the centre. Blasco's thoughts again reverted to Conradin, defeated at Tagliacozzo when the victory appeared to be already his; and the whole Sicilian army turned against this new enemy. Frederick, informed of the danger of Philip, hastened to him, rescued him from the two "almugaveri," and causing his arms to be taken from him, consigned him to the custody of his followers.[1]

Thus ended the battle of Falconaria. The Count of Sanseverino, finding it impossible to rally the fugitives, yielded himself a prisoner. Bartholomew and Sergio Siginolfo, Ugone Vizzi, William Amendolia, and other nobles, fell likewise into the hands of the Sicilians. The two hundred horse proved but a false alarm: for accustomed, writes Speciale, to luxurious living, they turned and fled without waiting to come to blows. A cooler historian would perhaps have said, that deprived of their leader, and beholding

[1] Montaner states the struggle to have taken place between Philip and Frederick himself; but it is clear that Speciale would not have defrauded his king of the glory of vanquishing the Prince of Taranto; and this must, therefore, be counted amongst the fables composed by Montaner in honour of the princes of Aragon.

the defeat of both wings of the army, rather than lay down their arms, or sacrifice their lives to no purpose, they prudently sought to retire to the fleet, reserving themselves for some more favourable opportunity, which however was prevented by the victorious forces which pursued, surrounded, and overpowered them. A memorable fact which occurred during the chase serves to illustrate the spirit which animated the Sicilians. Giletto, a soldier in our ranks, recognising amongst the fugitives Peter Salvacossa the renegade, overtook him, seized him, and raised his sword. Salvacossa offered him a ransom of a thousand ounces of gold; but the soldier replied, "They would be troublesome to reckon; keep your thousand ounces for your children,—but you, traitor, shall perish;" and with these words he cut his throat. A small portion of the routed host found refuge on board the fleet, which had witnessed the event, and approached the shore under cover of the darkness to take on board as many as could reach it; after which, it set sail to bear the disastrous tidings to Naples. Frederick caused his troops to refresh themselves on the field of battle; and left to each of the combatants

whatever he had taken, either in the shape of plunder or of prisoners, reserving for himself only the principal barons. He caused the wounds of the Prince of Taranto to be carefully tended, a table to be spread for him, and every mark of honour shown him that was due to so illustrious a captive. He entered Trapani at nightfall, and despatched couriers to convey the intelligence with the utmost speed throughout the island. The letter is still extant which he wrote to the citizens of Palermo, announcing the victory, and exhorting them to embark on board their galleys, and joining those of Genoa under Egidio Doria, to bear down upon the unprovided fleet of the enemy. He soon himself followed this epistle, and entered Palermo, as if in triumph, with his army and the train of captives.[1] In reward of the services of the citizens, he confirmed and brought again into use the privileges granted by the Emperor Frederick, Conrad, and Manfred, with regard to franchises for the import and export of

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 10. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 56, 57, where there is a copy of Frederick's letter to the citizens of Palermo. Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 34. Montaner, ch. 192. Tolomeo da Lucca, Ann. in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 1304. By a slight mistake he gives 1300 as the date of this battle.

provisions, commercial advantages, and others of lesser importance.[1] He then proceeded through the other towns in the Val di Mazzara, to exhibit himself surrounded by all the halo of victory, and excite the inhabitants to new efforts in their country's cause. He consigned the greater part of the captives to the prisons in the royal palace at Palermo; Count Sanseverino to the Castle of Monte San Giuliano; others to other places; and Prince Philip to the same fortress of Cefalù in which his father had been confined fifteen years before.[2]

Thus by the victory of Falconaria, the most important pitched battle that was fought in the whole war of the Vespers, Frederick regained the reputation, and with it the strength and influence, which five months before he had lost at Capo d'Orlando. Duke Robert learnt the news when he had advanced about half way by forced marches, to take Frederick in the rear, and imme-

[1] This act of privilege dated from Palermo, the 20th Dec. 1299, is published by De Vio, Privilegi di Palermo, p. 24. Testa, *Op. cit.* p. 98, speaks also of extensive franchises granted by Frederick to Marsala in recompense of the valour displayed by her citizens under the command of Giovanni di Ferro in the battle of Falconaria. But he does not quote the act, nor can I find it in any contemporary author.

[2] Nic. Speciale, Anon. Chron. Sic., and Montaner, *loc. cit.*

diately returned to Catania, whence he had gone forth on receiving notice of the enterprise of the Prince of Taranto. On that occasion the leaders of the host being assembled in counsel with Robert and Cardinal Gherardo, all had appeared full of exultation except Roger Loria, who perceiving how easily Frederick might overwhelm the prince, gave counsel to march as quickly as possible on the track of the Sicilian host, in order if possible to surround it. For this purpose the forces left Catania in two divisions, the one traversing the centre of the island, the other taking the longer but more level road along the southern coast. This design having failed, they saw no other remedy than to demand supplies and reinforcements from the Mainland, in order to resume the campaign in the spring. Roger Loria, therefore, with his accustomed daring, traversed the Straits of Messina alone in a small vessel, to make the requisite preparations at Naples: first warning the prince not to be lured by any opportunity, however apparently favourable, to give battle to an enemy at once so daring and so sagacious.[1]

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 11.

Notwithstanding this admonition, during the carnival of the year 1300, Robert could not resist the temptation of obtaining possession with little difficulty of the Castle of Gagliano. A French noble named Charles Morelet, taken at the battle of Falconaria, was there confined; and the castle was held by a Catalan belonging to Frederick's court, by name Montaner di Sosa. The latter began to show more kindness to his prisoner than was usual at that period; and at length one day while conversing with him he brought him to the desired point. Speaking mysteriously, as if fearing to be overheard, he required from the prisoner a promise of secresy, and then told him in a low voice that his conscience smote him for such prolonged disobedience to the Court of Rome, and for combating in an unrighteous cause, from which he would willingly detach himself, even at the peril of his life, and render so great a service to the cause of the Church as to make amends for all his sins. "Now, indeed," replied the French prisoner, "the Spirit of the Lord is striving with you, and has given light to your eyes; but tell me, in God's name, what amends would you make?" The Catalan then promised to open the gates of the

impregnable castle to Robert. The captive believed him; and full of joy wrote on the subject to the duke.[1]

Three hundred French knights had recently come to Catania under the command of the Count de Brienne and two other nobles, who were all bound by an oath to encounter Blasco Alagona and William Calcerando, and either to conquer them or die in the attempt, and who hence bore the designation of the Knights of Death.[2] It appears to have been this vow of theirs which caused the attempt upon Gagliano to be debated upon in the counsels of Robert. When the enterprise was proposed opinions were divided, some giving counsel not to trust the Catalans, the inveterate enemies of the French, in any matter; others, with equal bitterness, declaring that there was nothing which the Catalans would not do for gain. Cardinal Gherardo reminded the rest of the words of Roger Loria; they replied that it was not for a priest to regulate matters of war, and accused the cardinal of obstinacy, and the admiral of jealousy; at length, no opinion obtaining a decided preponderance, it was determined to

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 12. [2] Montaner, ch. 191.

temporise. They demanded that the Castellan should himself come to Catania, to ratify a promise to which credit could not be attached on the sole authority of letters from a prisoner. Montaner avoided complying by urging the plausible pretext that he could not leave the fortress in time of war; and sent in his stead a nephew of his own, both well instructed and astute, who concluded the bargain with Robert so dexterously as not to leave room for a shadow of suspicion. Much rivalry was excited among the warlike nobles by the desire to conduct the enterprise. All wished to be entrusted with it, and each one eagerly urged his own merits as a claim, so that, to prevent contention, Robert decreed that he would himself head the expedition, and that they should all take part in it; "and then," added he, "if even the whole Sicilian army were to lay in wait for us, we could afford to laugh at them." Walter Count of Brienne and of Lecce, the Count of Valmont, Godfrey of Mili, James de Brusson, John de Joinville, Oliver de Berlinçon, Robert Cornier, John Trullard, Walter de Noé, and Thomas of Procida,[1]

[1] Thomas of Procida, following the example of defection set him by his father, went over to the Angevin party, from whom

with their men-at-arms, presented themselves at day-break at Castel Ursino to fetch Robert. He had kept the whole a secret from his wife, but happily for him had not yet risen from his bed when the warriors sent to summon him; so that Yolanda, divining the reason, by her affectionate intreaties induced Robert to reveal the whole to her; and then pronouncing the expedition to be at once rash and inglorious, by her prayers and loving words she persuaded her husband not to take part in it. The Count of Brienne, being substituted for him in the command, took the road to Gagliano with all the gallants and the three hundred horse; the nephew of Montaner acting as guide.

Blasco Alagona, informed by the Castellan of every step taken by him in this two-fold treachery, kept numerous spies on the watch, and learning that the enemy had set forth, he placed himself in ambush near Gagliano, with William Calcerando and the Sicilians. The French in the confidence of conscious valour advanced boldly and carelessly. When they had accomplished about two-thirds of

he received many marks of favour and the restitution of his paternal estates, as shown by several diplomas in the Royal Archives of Naples, register marked 1299, 1300.

the distance, a sudden suspicion awoke in the mind of Thomas of Procida, and, spurring to the count, he entreated him not to entangle himself during the darkness of night amongst unknown hills and passes; bidding him remember that they were in a hostile country; and offering to ride forward and reconnoitre the neighbourhood which he had so often traversed in the chase, having once been himself Lord of Gagliano. The count reproached him with cowardice. "With such as these beside me," replied he, "I do not fear all Sicily united." During this discussion they had approached the ambuscade, and the guide desired them to halt, saying that he would proceed alone to the castle, lest the garrison, becoming aware of the treachery, should slay Montaner, and overthrow their plans. The army, therefore, halted, and the traitor went to seek Blasco in his concealment.

Blasco had seen the arms gleaming and the ensigns waving in the moonlight, and had ranged his followers in order, but his generous nature would not suffer him to fall upon the enemy by night, without warning, like a brigand. He therefore commanded the horns to be blown and the cry of "Blasco Alagona" to be raised close to

the hostile array. Great was the confusion amongst the ranks of the betrayed at this sound. The Sicilians who were amongst them, and who looked for a fate far worse than imprisonment, took to flight. Thomas of Procida returning to the count, conjured him even now at the eleventh hour to follow his counsel; namely, that they should retreat a short distance; when he would conduct them before daylight into the open plain with such speed, that the Sicilian infantry being unable to follow, they would have to deal only with the horse, and that at an advantage. "No," replied the count, "the knights of France shall never turn their backs upon the enemy—What is death at the worst?" "If all should fly," added Godfrey of Mili, "I alone will remain. How can I forget the accursed conflict of Catanzaro, where my ears deceived me and brought upon me disgrace more than sufficient for me and all my house! I have lived long enough." In this daring spirit they prepared for the desperate conflict, and drew up in battle array on a small elevated space of level ground, where Blasco left them undisturbed until day-break.

He had skilfully disposed his infantry in two

lines opening in the form of a fork, so as to enclose the enemy between them; having besides the advantage of the ground, which would prevent the cavalry from charging; and of the sun, which when it rose would be in the eyes of the enemy and at the backs of his own followers. As soon as it was light the former with extreme temerity descended from the rising ground to engage him, without awaiting the attack, and before reaching our lines were severely handled by a shower of stones and javelins, aimed for the most part at the horses, as they could not be expected to pierce the armour of the knights; but no less injury was done when the horses falling dead, or wounded and kicking, flung their riders to the ground, and the "almugaveri" sprang upon them and dispatched them. The dauntless warriors, however, succeeded in striking down the banner of Calcerando, whereupon the Sicilians rallying under that of Blasco, charged them with desperate fury. The dense mass of combatants began to disperse, and the rout and massacre commenced. The Count of Brienne remained alone with a few followers, mounted upon a block of stone where he defended himself like a lion, resolutely refusing

to give up his sword to one beneath himself. Calling Blasco, he at length surrendered it to him. His standard-bearer, who, covered with blood and wounds, but still holding the banner aloft, was seeking his lord to consign it to him before he expired, on beholding him a prisoner, threw the banner into the air, so that it should fall upon the head of the count, and unsheathing his own sword, rushed upon the ranks of the Sicilians. The greater number of the enemy perished thus; a few were taken prisoners with the count; not one escaped.

Like a savage beast of prey the Castellan came forth to behold the slaughter of those whom he had betrayed, and to examine the corpses. He selected those of the most noble and prepared them, says Speciale, after the manner of the pagans, in order to make a profit of the piety and affection of their relatives. Morelet still in fetters, beheld the battle from a window, and in an agony of despair at having lured his countrymen to their doom, he struck his head against the walls of his prison, refused meat and drink, and within a few days perished miserably. While he thus voluntarily expiated his error, the warriors and parti-

sans of the enemy were struck with consternation, and all the remainder of the island broke forth into boundless exultation over this second victory, which so materially weakened the power of Robert. Therefore, continues Speciale, the Sicilians, as was their wont, raised their crests once more, and forgetful of the vicissitudes of fortune, began anew to be puffed up with pride.[1]

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 12. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 68.—Ramondo Montaner, ch. 191, places the battle of Gagliano in a very different light. His first error is in stating it to have taken place before the battle of Falconaria. His second, that he is completely silent respecting the treachery of the Castellan, and states the Knights of Death to have gone to Gagliano to do battle with Blasco and Calcerando whom they knew to be in the castle. He gives the latter 200 horse and 300 foot, and to the enemy 500 horse and a considerable force of infantry. As to the disposition and events of the battle he differs much less from Speciale, and even in some points coincides perfectly with him. I have judged it better to adhere to Speciale than to Montaner, because the former is a graver and more national historian, and the latter extremely incorrect at this period. A suspicion might arise that the Castellan of Gagliano was the historian Montaner himself: but I am not of that opinion: first, on account of the difference of name, the Castellan being called Montaner di Sosa, and the historian only Montaner; secondly, on account of the anachronism respecting the battle of Falconaria, into which the Castellan would certainly not have fallen; thirdly, on account of the noble and chivalrous character of the historian Montaner, who would have been utterly incapable of an artifice which is deserving only of execration as the blackest treachery.

Several diplomas in the Archives of Naples (register marked 1299—1300,) give evidence of the number of illustrious men slain or captured in the battles of Falconaria and Gagliano.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FORCES OF FREDERICK AND OF THE ENEMY, AND PRACTICES OF BONIFACE.—TREATY OF CHARLES II. WITH GENOA.—HIS INTRIGUES IN SICILY.—NAVAL ARMAMENTS; BATTLE OF PONZA; TREATMENT OF THE SICILIAN PRISONERS, AND DEATH OF PALMIERO ABATE.—PROSECUTION OF THE WAR WITH LITTLE ADVANTAGE.—LOSS OF ROBERT'S FLEET.—CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE LIFE OF FREDERICK.—BLOCKADE OF MESSINA; TERRIBLE FAMINE; NOBLE CONDUCT OF THE KING.—TRUCE.—FROM THE SPRING OF 1300, TO THAT OF 1302.

As the defeat of Capo d'Orlando had failed to drive Frederick from Calabria, so but little advantage accrued to him from these two victories. A result to be ascribed in both cases to the great difficulty presented by the reduction of towns according to the rules of strategy as then understood; and in a still higher degree to the evils of feudal institutions, which we, who in these days live under the operation of precisely contrary evils, must frequently call to mind, in order fully to comprehend the events here recorded. Before the attack of an enemy, the whole ill-connected

fabric of the state fell into confusion; the armed force was subdivided amongst the several towns, each one thinking rather of defending himself than of reinforcing the royal army, and thus the events of the war unfolded themselves but slowly; so that except in the case of some sudden effort, which was moreover neither general nor lasting, the prince had at his command but a small portion of the military array of the state.

These considerations will diminish the apparent rashness of Frederick's obstinate determination to renew the struggle on the sea, with inferior numbers, and Loria for an adversary; because at sea he could at least employ his forces in unison, and thus avoid internal confusion. For although the disembarkation of the Prince of Taranto so excited the inhabitants of Val di Mazzara that they rose in a mass to aid the king in driving back the enemy to their ships and gaining the battle of Falconaria, yet when they no longer beheld any field for warlike exertion except in wearisome and arduous sieges, they forthwith returned to their wonted peaceful occupations. Thus when the battle of Gagliano took place the standing troops alone were in arms. They were a mixed multi-

tude; Spaniards, Sicilians, and a few other Italian Ghibelines; for we read that there was amongst the *condottieri* one Farinata degli Uberti,[1] and that many of the Colonnas, in the wreck of their fortunes, sought refuge with Frederick.[2] More effectual was the aid afforded him from Genoa by the Dorias, Spinolas, Voltas, and their colleagues, who governed the counsels of the republic, and armed vessels in the pay of Sicily.[3] Thus Frederick's forces were brave indeed, but scanty, ill supplied and ill paid, because the nation was exhausted by eighteen years of warfare, straitened by foreign occupation, and bound by strict laws in the matter of subsidies to the crown, which had been moreover diminished by the privileges granted to the principal cities and to the men-at-arms, in requital of distinguished services rendered during the war.[4] But the firm determination of the

[1] See Chap. XVII.

[2] Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 23.

[3] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, §§ 10, 11. Diploma of Frederick dated the 1st Dec. 1299, in Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 57. Also a diploma of Charles II. of the 8th May, 13th Indiction, 1300, in which he charges his ambassadors at Genoa to oppose to the utmost of their power the assistance in vessels which was being covertly prepared for Frederick. In the Royal Archives of Naples, register marked Charles II. 1299, 1300.

[4] Frederick even extended his hand over ecclesiastical property,

people to maintain their liberty and independence supplied every deficiency, and incredible as it may seem, sufficed to counterbalance the overwhelming power of the enemy.

The latter had at their command all the funds that could be drawn from the kingdom of Naples, and all that the court of Rome and the Guelfs of central Italy could furnish. They had troops from the above-named provinces, from Spain, and especially from France, to whose maternal tenderness the Angevin dynasty at Naples appealed both in their first and in every succeeding peril. So that no sooner was he apprized of the defeat of Falconaria than Charles II. wrote to Philip the Fair, on the 8th of December, declaring that he had recourse to him as to the head and support of his house, and his best hope after God; and reiterating the most earnest entreaties that he would aid him with the supplies of troops which he had already solicited; urging that even if the King of

to obtain subsidies to carry on the war, but he did so very cautiously, in order not to irritate the Sicilian clergy, who adhered to him notwithstanding the admonitions of Rome. See the treaty of Caltabellotta in the following chapter, and the documents quoted by Di Gregorio, Consideriazoni sopra la Storia di Sicilia, book iv. ch. 5, and note 49 to the same chapter.

France were engaged in other wars nearer home, yet that his hands were so strong and reached so far, that he could, if he would, extend them to his kinsfolk, and quickly despatch some kind of succour; for a little assistance now, would be worth as much as a great deal formerly; but if he delayed, the fortunes of the king would sink so low, that no effort would be sufficient to retrieve them.[1] He despatched another copy of this letter on the 3d of January, 1300, with two ambassadors, Brother Volfranc of the preaching friars, and Peter Pilet.[2] Nor did France refuse the required assistance, with which the reconquest of Sicily was attempted for the last time. But Boniface, with his pontifical authority, his great talents, and lofty and impetuous spirit, was the most powerful support, or rather himself the head of the enterprise. On hearing, at the commencement of the year 1300, that King Charles either from sorrow concerning his captive son, or from weariness and exhaustion, had listened to ambassadors from Frederick, he wrote to him in terms of the bitterest reproach, saying that he had long known

[1] Letter of Charles II. to Philip the Fair, Archives of France, J, 513, 48.

[2] Diploma in the Archives of France, J, 513, 47.

his worth, by the cowardly truce of Gaeta, the senseless peace concluded with James in 1295, and the insane expedition of the Prince of Taranto; and would that his folly might bring ruin on himself alone, not on the Church of Rome, and the whole of Christendom! Was it wisdom, was it reverence for the Supreme Pontiff, was it gratitude that he was now showing, by covertly treating of peace with Frederick? Therefore the Pontiff saw himself under the necessity of admonishing so incapable a sovereign not to dare to prosecute the negotiation without written commands from himself. If he were disobedient he should feel the weight of excommunications and Papal suits, and the Pope who had expended so much money and labour on his concerns, would at last conclude peace himself with Frederick to the disadvantage of the Court of Naples alone, in order that the deliverance of the Holy Land might be no longer delayed. These bitter words were written on the 9th of January, and reiterated not long after. They serve to prove beyond a doubt which was the real sovereign of Naples at that time—Charles, or Boniface.[1]

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, §§ 15, 16.

Charles now hastened to him in a supplicating attitude, together with the admiral: the former to exculpate himself, and both to implore succour in order to repair the shock sustained by their fortunes at the battle of Falconaria. The Pope, who could not pardon this reverse, reproached them bitterly, but at the same time afforded effectual aid. He summoned the Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem to bring to Charles's assistance all the forces they had stationed in Western Europe, and demanded troops likewise from the Guelf cities of Italy. He despatched repeated letters urging Robert to press the war, and Cardinal Gherardo to regulate and direct all the affairs of the party. To the Sicilians who sided with the House of Anjou he wrote in flattering and at the same time mournful terms. The brief addressed to Cardinal Gherardo, and given at the Lateran the first of February, explains the vast scheme devised by Boniface in order to direct the forces of the half of Europe against the indomitable island, and concludes with an indication of other practices, which he deems it best to pass over in silence, and which therefore may be supposed to be less creditable

than those recorded.[1] It is true that the jubilee proclaimed about this time effectually assisted the efforts of the Court of Rome against Sicily. Boniface was the first to institute it, and confirmed by a Papal decree the ancient custom of celebrating the commencement of a new century by extraordinary religious observances.[2] Closing against his political enemies those treasures of indulgence lavished upon all the people of Christ, he especially withheld them from all who should show favour to the infidels, or to Frederick, or should give refuge to the exiled Colonnas.[1] He succeeded in attracting to Rome within a short space of time nearly two millions of strangers, who came for the benefit of the pardons to be obtained, and enriched the city and its dependencies by their

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, §§ 12—14. Towards the conclusion of the brief we find these words:—"Nonnulla vero alia pro subsidio negotii acies considerationis nostræ circumspicit, quæ presentibus non duximus inserenda." Ibid. § 21, we see that Boniface wrote to the inhabitants of Catania, congratulating them on the rebellion of Ragusa, Noto, and another town in favour of the Angevin cause.

[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, §§ 1—4, and a note by Mansi at the same passage. Bull of Boniface, dated the 22d March, ibid. and in the Chronicle of Francesco Pipino, book iv. ch. 41, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix.

[3] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, § 10, quoting a bull of the 1st March, 1300, to this effect.

expenditure, and the apostolic treasury to a still greater extent by their alms, which were so abundant that two ecclesiastics were constantly employed in the chapel of San Paolo, in gathering up with rakes the money flung at the foot of the altar by the faithful.[1]

The Pope was thus able to furnish large sums to King Charles, now under the name of a subsidy, and now under that of a loan, which came, in fact, to the same thing, owing to the improbability of repayment.[2] Others were furnished by Florence, Lucca, and other towns, not to mention the loans contracted as usual by Charles from foreign merchants, and from his own subjects even in the cities he had occupied in Sicily, and the extraordinary benevolences that he implored from his own people, as in the case of the prelates and feudataries of Provence, who, hearing of the capture of his son, proffered their aid, and he, in

[1] Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 36. Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, § 8. Chronicle of Asti, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. pp. 191, 192. The author of this Chronicle was an eye-witness. Ferreto Vicentino, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 996.

[2] Besides the assertions of Boniface in the brief of the 9th January, 1300, the subsidies furnished during that year by the Court of Rome are proved by various diplomas in the Royal Archives of Naples, register marked Charles II. 1299—1300, C.

return, required from them money, armour and ships. By these means he was enabled to meet the expenses of the war, which had become more than ever exorbitant, owing to the constant supplies of money and provisions forwarded to the army of Sicily, where there was a scarcity, and where the obstinate resistance of the people did not leave the enemy in possession of a single inch of territory beyond that actually occupied by his troops.

Much attention was also devoted to the augmentation of the army, which was continually reduced, either by pitched battles, or by the vicissitudes of guerilla warfare: often, too, the mercenary troops would desert their standards, or follow them with unwillingness and insubordination, and give way at the first encounter; so that Charles was compelled to invest Roger Loria with unlimited authority to punish them in their persons or in their property. He sought everywhere also to procure *condottieri*, alluring them with splendid promises, and abundant pay; he made application to Charles of Valois, and Robert Count of Artois; he, moreover, obtained troops from Spain, through the agency of Roger Loria,

who not only enlisted them, but pledged himself to furnish their stipend, in case of failure on the part of the king. Florence sent him two hundred horse, and amongst his captains we find Thomas of Procida, the Count of Flanders, the Dauphin of Vienne, Ranieri Grimaldi, a Genoese exile, and many other mercenary leaders of mercenary bands, a plague by which Italy was infested and tortured for centuries after. In Calabria, King Charles armed, against the territory occupied by Frederick, the feudal militias, together with some light troops collected after the fashion of the "almugaveri," whose only law and stipend was plunder. The disciplined mercenaries he sent over to Sicily, measuring his hopes of them by the amount of their pay; but even these failed him, as is so often the case with hired valour. History states the Tuscan horse to have amounted to four hundred, commanded by Ranieri Buondelmonte, and leagued together against that same Blasco Alagona so highly renowned amongst Frederick's captains. Roger Loria, with the fleet, landed them in Val Demone, whence they proceeded to Catania, within the walls of which the Angevin forces had shut themselves up. Here they

traversed the streets and squares, vauntingly inquiring where Blasco was to be found; but when, says Speciale, they had obtained on the spot more minute information concerning him and the temper of his followers, they desisted from their inquiries; thus showing themselves more valiant in words than in action, so that derided both by enemies and allies, they speedily disbanded.[1]

With the same object of obtaining reinforcements for the army and the fleet, and also to deprive Frederick of the assistance which he covertly received from that quarter, the House of Anjou resumed its efforts to win over James and his people. In the first place, Charles granted to the Catalans, Aragonese and other subjects of King James, who had fought for him in Sicily, on board the fleet, the town of Agosta and the city of Patti, abandoned by their inhabitants during the cruel vicissitudes of the war, giving up to them, at the same time, the dependencies of these towns, with the same privileges that were enjoyed by the

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 13. He expressly mentions 400 Tuscan horse. The diplomas mention 200 horse from Florence, and it is natural to suppose that the others came from the other Tuscan cities, to whom, as stated above, similar requisitions had been addressed by Charles, and by the Pope.

Provençal colonists in the kingdom of Naples, and other immunities at the discretion of the admiral. Besides this inducement, which to seamen was very great, owing to the commodiousness of the ports and importance of the colonies, he was liberal of feudal concessions to the most distinguished of the Spanish captains.[1] The Pope again sounded James, both through the Cardinal Gherardo of stainless reputation, and by other messengers;[2] and at length wrote to him in a tone between affection and severity, touching upon the reprehensible step of his departure after the battle of Capo d'Orlando and the scandal and suspicions thence arising, which he admonished him to wipe out, by recalling, on pain of rigorous penalties, all such of his subjects as were fighting under Frederick's banners, by forbidding the rest from entering his service, and on the other hand, by encouraging the arming of men and ships for the service of the Church.[3] As a more effectual

[1] For these measures, as well as the other warlike preparations recorded above, we find authority in the Diplomas of the Royal Archives of Naples, register marked 1299—1300.

[2] Brief of the 1st Feb. quoted above, in Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, § 12, and others quoted in the same paragraph.

[3] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, §§ 17—19, brief dated the 15th Jan. 1300.

argument, Boniface granted him the ecclesiastical tithes for two years longer;[1] while, at the same time, Charles made a plausible demonstration of reimbursing him for the expenses of the last expedition, by investing in revenues which produced a certain and rapid return in the counties of Provence and Forcalquier, two thousand ounces a-year, which had been promised to the King of Aragon from the hoped-for acquisitions in Sicily.[2] But whether to avoid fresh disgrace, from knowledge of the value of similar promises, or from what other cause soever, concerning which the contemporary records are silent, James would take no part in the matter. He replied to the Pope that he had done enough already, and confined himself to renewing his prohibitions to the Catalan captains in Frederick's service, and suffering armaments to go on in his ports for the House of Anjou, which afterwards gained the battle of Ponza, by means of these succours.[3]

We have already seen what political interests

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, § 19.

[2] Diploma in the above-named register in the Royal Archives of Naples.

[3] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, § 19. Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book v. ch. 42. James's commands were repeated on the 21st of arch, to his subjects residing in Sicily, Ugone de Empuriis,

tended to unite Genoa and Sicily throughout the whole course of the war, and what assistance Frederick derived from the Republic. He was favoured by the Ghibelines, or, as they were also called, *Rampini*, who were at that time in power at Genoa. The *Mascarati*, or Guelfs, the chief of whom were the ancient noble houses of the Fieschi and Grimaldi, in 1292 made a vain attempt to induce the Republic to enter into alliance with the House of Anjou, and a still more unhappy one by force of arms, about the close of 1295, or commencement of the following year. After polluting their unhappy country with blood and fire, defeated and expelled, they fled to the city of Monaco, where they fortified themselves, and whence they made desperate attempts upon Genoa, or armed themselves to afford some naval assistance to King Charles, who favoured them by means of his towns in Piedmont and Provence, but durst not attempt anything more against the Republic, though anxious to restore the preponderance of the Guelf interest,

Blasco Alagona, Martino d'Oliet, Bernardo Ramondo de Ribellas, Guglielmo Calcerando, Ponzio de Queralto, Guerao de Pons, Pietro di Puchuert, and Bernardo Queralto.

and indignant at the succour afforded to Sicily.[1] But in the year 1300, the less cautious Pope Boniface, amongst his other intrigues, took up this one with great energy; first soliciting James of Aragon to divert the Republic from her friendship for Frederick; then exerting himself to speak graciously to the Genoese ambassadors, and dazzle them with promises; and finally requesting the co-operation of Philip the Fair, backed by the menace of shutting out the Genoese from all commercial intercourse with France.[2] Finally, on the anniversary of the Last Supper, which fell this year on the 7th of April, in presence of the countless multitude of the faithful, attracted to Rome by the jubilee, he pronounced sentence of excommunication against Oberto and Conrad Doria, Conrad Spinola, their families and allies, and the city and territory of Genoa, with the accustomed proviso, that if before the Feast of Ascension they did not withdraw all assistance from the contumacious Sicilians, they would incur,

[1] See the Annals of Genoa in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. vi. Jacopo de Varagine, part xii. ch. 9, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. Giorgio Stella, ibid. vol. xvii. pp. 1015, 1019.

[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, §§ 12, 13.

besides these spiritual penalties, also spoliation of all the lands held by them from the Church; their property would belong to the first occupant, and their persons would be at the disposal (barring the infliction of death or mutilation) of any who chose to possess themselves of them.[1] At this menace of being put under the ban of the Church, Genoa hesitated; orators were sent to the Pope, and negotiations commenced with King Charles. Boniface followed up his advantage by means of the Kings of Aragon and France, and by letters to the Genoese, threatening them with the anger of heaven, and consequent temporal calamity; and promising them blessings and prosperity in case of obedience. To the same effect he engaged in his cause Porchetto Spinola, Archbishop of Genoa, a man of great reputation for piety and doctrine,[2] whom, nevertheless, he had insulted the year before, at the commencement of Lent, when, during the ceremony of giving the ashes to the prelates, instead of the usual formula, the Pope addressed Spinola thus:—"Remember that thou art a Ghibeline, and that with the Ghibelines

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, § 10. [2] Ibid. § 11.

thou shalt return to dust!" at the same time throwing the ashes in his face.[1] Yet, before such outbreaks of passion, human nature, for the most part, trembles and gives way.

The consequence of these violent dealings on the part of Boniface was, that towards the middle of April, 1300, the Genoese began to enter into correspondence with Charles; first, by word of mouth between friends, and afterwards, through two ambassadors from the king. The sum of the negotiations was this: that the king should seek to procure the surrender of Monaco, by depriving it of all assistance from Nice and Provence, and meanwhile should give the castles of Torbia and Sant' Agnese as hostages, to be restored on the submission of Monaco; and that Genoa, constituting it a matter of state, should recall Conrad Doria and all other Genoese fighting under the standard of Frederick, and should forbid all fresh armaments in his favour, but permit them in that of King Charles. Having once commenced negotiations, however, the Genoese began to be exacting; they demanded that the king should give Esa,

[1] Giorgio Stella, Annali di Genova, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xvii. p. 1019.

very strongly situated on a rock above the sea, instead of Sant' Agnese; that at any rate he should add the tower of Albeggio; that the Vicar of the king at Nice and his Seneschal in Provence, should be approved by the Genoese; and soon after, that Genoa should not give hostages for the restitution of the castles, but only the plighted faith of Niccolò and Albertazzo Spinola, Niccoloso and Frederick Doria; nor was any further concession offered in return on the part of the Republic, except that of reinstating the exiles in their possessions, and readmitting them into the city, with the exception of the Grimaldi and a few others. Charles, having more need of them than they of him, submitted to these conditions despite the mediation of the Pope; but even on these terms, did not succeed in concluding the treaty, the Genoese now insisting on the surrender of Monaco without accepting as security the occupation of the castles, now having recourse to other pretexts for delay; whence it is manifest that the heads of the Ghibeline party, whom the partisans of King Charles and of the Pope did not suffice to counterbalance, sought by temporizing to escape the material effects

of the excommunication; and preferred deferring the reacquisition of Monaco, to readmitting the Grimaldi into the town and leaguing themselves so closely with King Charles as to revive the Guelf party in the Republic. They therefore did not desist from their armaments in favour of Frederick, and the Grimaldi with equal obstinacy refused to leave Monaco, notwithstanding all the exhortations and menaces of the Court of Rome and of Charles, who withheld from them all succours from Provence, and caused forces to be there equipped against them. It was therefore in vain that the Pope despatched his confidential messengers; in vain that Charles at every fresh obstacle increased the number of his orators,[1] as

[1] These practices, merely hinted at by Raynald, Ann. Eccl. and by Giorgio Stella, Annals of Genoa, in the places already quoted, are to be found in full in the diplomas in the Royal Archives of Naples, Register of Charles II. marked 1299—1300, C. It is to be remarked that the names of the fortresses are variously written, or rather variously distorted in the several diplomas. Those of Esa, or Eza, and Torbia are easily recognisable. Not so the other Santaneta, or Santenetta, but from the similarity of the sound, and still more from the topographical position, it appears to signify the present town of Sant' Agnese, situated on the confines of the Piedmontese states and the principality of Monaco. I have not been able to discover any traces in that country of the name of Albegio, Labegio, or Abegio, which moreover was a mere tower without any dependant village, so that the fort once destroyed, the name might very probably be altogether

if the failure was owing to their deficiency, and not to the superior strength and sagacity of Genoa. At length, in November, the indignant Boniface thundered forth the interdict: the following year he made a demonstration with the arms of Valois, by which, however, he carried out his designs no further than by effecting the surrender of Monaco,[1] and promised extensive privileges to the trade in corn both in the mainland kingdom, and in Sicily in case of its reconquest, by which he succeeded with a commercial people in surmounting every obstacle. Having thus gained the public mind, it was easy for the Pope to deprive Frederick of all assistance from individuals, by requiring an oath to that effect from the magistrates of Genoa, and overawing his most determined partisans by menaces and excommunications.[2]

While these practices were carried on by the

lost. Torbia was a castle of great strength, as stated by Benvenuto da Imola, in his Commentary on the verses of Dante :—

"Tra Lerici e Turbia, la più deserta,
La più romita via è una scala," ec.—*Purgat.* c. 3.

[1] Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 47.

[2] Briefs of Boniface given from the Lateran, one on the 1st of June, 1301, the other on the 26th of August of the same year, given by Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1301, §§ 15—17.

House of Anjou, in order to the diminution of the enemy's force and augmentation of its own by foreign assistance, it laboured no less zealously to raise up for itself a party in Sicily, continuing the flattering promises to the nation which had been held out the year before with little success, and backing them up with the far more effectual favours of pardons, promises, and liberal grants to individual men or cities. He confirmed to the inhabitants of Catania the privileges granted to them a short time before by Robert as his Vicar; to the town of San Marco, that it should be under the immediate jurisdiction of the crown as a part of the royal domain, which was in those days a great privilege; the same was promised to Camerata, which, so said the Angevin Chancery, was disposed to return to its allegiance; the citizens of Naso, who shared this inclination, were encouraged by a bribe of five years' exemption from the collections; a like exemption from all fiscal dues was granted, at first for ten and afterwards for fifteen years, to the inhabitants of Lipari. In Calabria the same arts were employed towards the cities which sided with the Sicilians: to Geraci pardon was proffered; to Amantea what-

ever should be agreed to by Godfrey Sclavello, a devoted adherent of the king; and to Tropea still greater favours as being a place of more importance, exemption for six years from various burdens, and full power over the persons and property of the Sicilian soldiers of the garrison, to whom the promise of taking them into the pay of Naples had in vain been offered as the price of treason. Similar retaining fees were scattered amongst the new converts to the Angevin cause: to the barons, confirmation of their feudal possessions; to those of the middle classes, pardon of their offences, security of property, restoration to dignities, and, likewise, so say the diplomas, to honour. Still more liberal were Charles's dealings with those who had been foremost in treason at Catania, or in other important cities, ratifying all the feudal concessions made by Robert, and adding new ones, together with offices and dignities. To Walter di Pantaleone of Catania, Biscari was given, and knighthood conferred upon him; and endless were the royal largesses showered upon Virgilio Scordia, who was, moreover, installed Captain of the city of Catania, and Commander of the castle.

These very favours show how arduous an enterprise the reconquest of Sicily proved to be: since not content with their great superiority of force, the enemy showed such zeal in buying the services of traitors, that the soil did not suffice for the reward of so many good or evil deeds, and it became necessary to hold out expectations, now granting the value of so much a-year to be invested in feudal lands so soon as they should revert to the crown; now bestowing upon some baron a nominal gift of farms held by the barons of Frederick. These abundant means of corruption were entrusted, as being on the spot, to Robert, and to the admiral on whom were heaped wealth, honours, and power scarcely inferior to those of a prince. To the innumerable feudal grants already made to him, were added at this period those of Malta and Gozzo, with the title of Count. King Charles speaks of him afterwards as being "trusted by him even as a member of his own body;" and among his numerous virtues, he instanced to him, as if in mockery, the spotless purity of his faith. Arming him with an authority not inferior to that of the vicar Robert, he granted him power, when

in command of the fleet in any warlike expedition, to remit offences, debts, and penalties, both in the case of towns and of private individuals, and to grant any terms that should seem good to him in order to recall them to their allegiance, which the king would always ratify. Thus Loria obtained from the Court of Naples the boundless power to which he had in vain aspired at that of Sicily, and he disappointed the hopes both of the one and of the other; those of the latter occasionally, from want of will; those of the former frequently, from want of power.

If we now go back a little to retrace the events of the war, we shall find that no other achievement of any importance took place in Sicily before the end of the spring of 1300; and in Calabria the combatants concluded a truce on their own account, against the consent of the Angevin government, which if it succeeded in recovering a few towns, did so by purchasing their surrender from the garrison, or by intriguing with the citizens.[1] Meanwhile, with the

[1] For all the above-mentioned proceedings of the Angevin government, authority is furnished by the diplomas in the Royal Archives of Naples, register marked 1299—1300.

assistance mentioned above, the army of Sicily was reinforced, and the fleet equipped; while the Sicilians trusting solely to their vessels, Speciale reproaches them with leaving the war at home in an evil hour, in order to seek a more distant field. They were encouraged in so doing by Peregrine of Patti, the hero of the bridge of Brindisi, who, having furnished a few vessels with engines of war, encountered twelve Apulian galleys, attacked them, put them to flight, pursued them beneath the very walls of Catania in the sight of Robert, and even insulted the city by discharges from his engines.[1]

Twenty-seven galleys having been armed in our ports, and five more furnished by the Ghibelines of Genoa, John Chiaramonte, Palmiero Abate, Arrigo d'Incisa, Peregrine of Patti, Benincasa d'Eustazio, Roger Martino, and many others of the flower of the Sicilian nobility embarked on board of them, the supreme command being entrusted to the Genoese, Conrad Doria. They sailed along the coast, spoiling and plundering, as far as Naples where Roger Loria was fitting out about forty Neapolitan and Spanish

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 14.

galleys. They sent a vessel to bear him a message of defiance, and he, expecting the arrival of the twelve galleys which had taken refuge at Catania, coldly answered, that he was not yet ready for battle. Our fleet, proud of shutting up so great an admiral in port, lingered amongst the islands of the bay, defying, but neither attacking nor harassing the enemy, who continued to strengthen himself. One dark night, the Sicilian fleet ran out as far as Ponza, when the twelve galleys from Catania entered the gulf under full sail; an unexpected reinforcement arrived at the same time in the shape of seven Genoese galleys belonging to the Grimaldi, eager to bathe their hands in the blood of the Dorias. Roger Loria, upon this, issued forth with a fleet of eight-and-fifty galleys, against ours consisting of two-and-thirty.

On beholding so great a disparity of numbers, the Sicilian barons held a hasty consultation on board the admiral's galley, in order to find an excuse, not for retreating, but for the temerity which made them impatient for the combat. Vain, therefore, was the prudence of Palmiero Abate, a man of great valour and distinguished

name who had grown old in the wars of the Vespers, and who implored them not to tempt fate too rashly and expose the fleet, and with it all the hopes of Sicily, to almost certain loss: there was no disgrace, he urged, in retiring before forces so superior; they would but follow the example of the great Loria, who but lately, although the stronger of the two, had not accepted their challenge, but deferred giving battle until it suited his convenience. All approved Palmiero's counsel in their hearts, but opposed it in words, in order to make a greater show of valour. But Benincasa d'Eustazio, of all the most imprudent, burst forth with the declaration that they had not been sent thither by their king and country merely to disport themselves like dolphins before the eyes of the royal fleet; the sea which they were ploughing had already witnessed two splendid victories gained by the Sicilians over enemies whose forces doubled their own; and should they now fly before these half-men?[1] "No," added he, in conclusion, "let us give battle; and as for the degenerate Sicilians who tremble, let them fly at once, and not ruin our cause by their example, when once the battle

[1] "Semiviri," Speciale.

is engaged." "Benincasa," retorted Palmiero, with extreme indignation, "thy speech is aimed at me; but the time does not admit of words, it calls aloud for deeds, and these will soon make known which of us will fly and which stand fast. Since such is the will of Heaven, let us not dispute further, but prepare for battle with our wonted courage." With these words he sprang into a light skiff, which bore him to his galley, where he proceeded to don his armour. All prepared with alacrity for the desperate conflict; and the admiral, Conrad Doria, who had not taken a prominent part in the discussion, sought it in the battle, resolutely endeavouring, in the first encounter, to run on board the hostile *Capitana*.

On the 14th of June, 1300, was fought this ill-fated battle, in which the five Genoese vessels that were on our side stood aloof, leaving the twenty-seven Sicilian galleys alone to confront the enemy's fleet. The struggle was carried on with great slaughter on both sides, until surrounded and overpowered, they, too late, became sensible of their temerity. Benincasa d'Eustazio, who at first had captured a hostile galley, stripped it of all the plunder he could find,

and set the example of flight. Six galleys followed him; the others, after a desperate struggle, were captured, with the barons, warriors and seamen on board, all covered with wounds. Doria alone would not haul down his flag, though he had been in the thick of the enemy from the very beginning of the battle, when Loria's pilot, skilfully avoiding the shock of the Genoese, he was surrounded by hostile vessels, rending the flanks of his galley with their prows, and striving to board him only to be hurled back into the sea, or transfixed by the skilful archers of Genoa. Loria, at length, withdrawing the galleys, sent a fire-ship down upon him. Having thus taken Conrad prisoner, he did honour to his valour by loading him with chains, and inflicted on the archers a penalty worse than that of death, by causing their eyes to be put out and their hands cut off.

Both at the court, and throughout the city and kingdom of Naples, great rejoicings were held in honour of this victory, which was likewise celebrated throughout the Guelf cities of Italy as apparently giving a final blow to the fortunes of Frederick.[1]

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 14. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 69. Chronicle of Bologna, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xviii. p. 304.

Above all, Charles hoped by it to obtain peaceable possession of the lands of the captive barons in Sicily. With this view he caused them to be sent to Naples, distributed in different prisons and brought before him separately, and tried them now by gentle treatment, caresses, and promises, now by hardships and menaces, without being able to induce even one of them to do him homage. Then, as a new experiment, keeping some imprisoned at Naples,[1] he sent others loaded with fetters to Sicily, in hopes that the sight of their country would work upon the captives, and pity for their valiant sons upon the cities. He consigned them to Loria, who was to make the tour of the island with the fleet, strong in the terror inspired by the recent victory, and with the above-mentioned unlimited powers conferred upon him at this time, in order that no exertion might be

Here we learn the day of the battle, and the celebration of it in Bologna, and obtain confirmation of the numbers of our own vessels and those of the enemy. Tolomeo da Lucca, Ann. in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 1303, states the Sicilians to have lost twenty-eight galleys, and the brother and son of Conrad Doria to have been captured with him.

[1] Speciale's testimony on this point is confirmed by a diploma of the 16th July, 1300, (in the register so often cited in the Royal Archives of Naples.) It is an order for the iron fetters of the Sicilian prisoners: "Tunc morantibus in criptis predicto civitatis" (Neapolis).

wanting to follow up the victory of Ponza, both by arms and artifice. In this voyage died Palmiero Abate. He was taken fighting at Ponza, covered with blood and wounds; confined, first, in a prison, and then in the hold of a galley, where hardships and want of care envenomed his wounds, and his soul was borne down by the grief of finding himself in such a situation within sight of his country, to which, amid numberless perils, he had for twenty years devoted his life in counsel and in arms, and which now, in the hour of her greatest need, he was unable to aid. He expired within sight of Catania, with the word "Sicily" on his lips. Robert did honour to the remains of this great man, by causing them to be deposited, and his obsequies performed, in the cathedral of Catania.[1]

Henry of Incisa, a citizen of Sciacca, similarly destined to serve as a decoy, owed his liberty to the good fortune which caused him to be forgotten in a prison at Catania, when the admiral again set sail with the fleet to scour the southern coasts. Desirous to exhibit him to his fellow-citizens, he thence despatched a light vessel to

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 15.

fetch him together with a large sum of money for the requirements of the fleet; this vessel fell in with a Sicilian one which gave battle to it and captured it, so that Henry not only obtained his liberty, but also laid hands on the Angevin gold.[1] Conrad Doria, meanwhile, having fallen into the grasp of Roger, whose natural cruelty was increased in this instance by rivalry and covetousness, was loaded with chains, tortured with thirst, supplied with food but just sufficient to sustain life, and exposed to every kind of menace and hardship in order to drive him to resign the town of Francavilla to Roger. For a long time he endured patiently; then he wrote on the subject to Frederick, and having obtained his consent, surrendered the fief. But Francavilla was the only gain that resulted to the Angevin party from the cruel and unworthy treatment of the prisoners of Ponza.

They did, indeed, obtain a few more towns about this time, but none of them by force of arms. Asaro was given up by two murderers in order to escape the vengeance of the laws, but they were soon overtaken by that of the people.

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 18.

who flogged them to death while in the act of plotting fresh treason.[1] Racalgiovanni was gained by the treachery of the lord of the place;[2] Taba[3] by that of a common soldier, who opened a gate to the enemy, and was slain in the tumult before he could receive the price of his misdeed; Delia, by the more complicated iniquity of Job and Robert Martorana. They were intimate friends of the lord of the town, but cherished a guilty passion for the wife and daughter of the Castellan whom he had placed there, and not being able to obtain them by a lesser crime, they slew the Castellan, violated the women, and, hoping by that means to escape with impunity, gave up the castle to Robert; but before he could send thither stronger forces, Berenger degli Intensi, a *condottiere* in Frederick's service,[4] having been secretly

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 16.

[2] Racalgiovanni was a stronghold on the crest of the chain of hills which extends westward between the rivers Salso and Morello, from Monte Artesino near Asaro and Castro Giovanni.

[3] A castle now destroyed. It rose under Monte Tavi, opposite Leonforte, at the source of the Dittaino.

[4] So says Speciale. He bore the same name as he who sold Otranto to the enemy; but whether he were another person, or the same, who had now returned to the Sicilian cause with the indifference usual to mercenary "condottieri," is unknown. The doubtful faith in which he was supposed to stand to the enemy, would perhaps be an argument in favour of this supposition. See Chap. XVI.

admitted by a citizen, retook Delia, and the two villains dragged at the horses' tail expired on the gallows. Racalgiovanni, likewise, besieged by Frederick, and not relieved by the enemy, surrendered within a few days.[1]

The admiral, in the meantime, kept sailing round the island with Cardinal Gherardo on board the fleet, but gaining nothing by his arts; and the fortune of war, which had rescued Henry of Incisa from his hands, failed to aid him in obtaining possession of any of the towns on the southern or western coast, which had been abundantly supplied by the Sicilians. At Termini he had a narrow escape of being himself lost. Deeming it undefended, he there attempted a disembarkation; but Manfred Chiaramonte and Ugone degli Empuri had entered the town in the preceding night, and were awaiting him, after having secretly armed a troop of horse. Loria's crews beginning to plunder the lower city, were charged by the Sicilian horse and, trampled under foot and their retreat cut off, were defeated, cut to pieces, or taken prisoners. The admiral, who never shunned danger, had disembarked with his

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 16, 17.

men, but being unable to rally the fugitives, concealed himself in a corner of a public-house, until, the Sicilian horse having retired, he found a skiff in which he returned to the fleet, where his followers were bewailing his supposed death. He passed the Straits without making any attempt upon Messina, and assaulted Taormina, but with no other result than the triumph of having mastered the natural obstacles of the place, and carried off a very insignificant amount of plunder.[1]

The war thus languishing, the year 1300 and great part of the following one passed away without any other achievements, in fruitless overtures of peace through orators sent by Frederick to Charles, negotiations for the exchange of prisoners, and other machinations on the part of the Angevins of which we can scarcely detect the traces in the darkness of the past. Both armies were weakened by the causes already enumerated, and still more so by the scarcity, which compelled Loria to return with the fleet to the territory of Naples, to obtain supplies of provisions for Catania

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 18.

[2] We find indications of these proceedings in the diplomas in the Royal Archives of Naples.

and for the captured towns in Val di Noto. This done, and seeing no favourable opportunity of striking a blow with effect, the admiral took counsel with Robert at least to show himself to the enemy; and to do so by sea, because Frederick, though he had an army, had no fleet. Dividing their's, therefore, into two squadrons, they set sail from Catania, Robert proceeding with the body of the fleet along the southern coast, Loria steering northwards with the remaining galleys. The former made an attack on Syracuse, which, strongly situated and inured to far greater perils of war, bade defiance to his attempts; and assaulted Scicli, from which he was similarly repulsed; Loria merely conveyed supplies to the strongholds in Val Demone. In the month of July, the duke was off the Scoglitti on the shores of Camerina where a small river still preserves its ancient name, the admiral off the coast of Brolo, thinking of anything rather than the perils of the deep, when, on the same day, two furious gales sprung up from two opposing quarters, driving the hostile vessels to perish on our shores, those of Loria attacked by a wind from the north, those of Robert by one from the south-west. Robert's

seamen cast anchor, but the cables broke, the galleys began to go to pieces on the rocks, the exertions of the oarsmen were of no avail, and all would have perished, had not the pilot of the *Capitana* bethought himself of running before the wind, and making every exertion to sweep along the coast. Thus the greater number reached Cape Pachino in safety, leaving those ill-fated shores strewn with the wrecks of two-and-twenty galleys and a vast number of corpses; those who reached the shore alive, naked and unarmed, eschewed the more beaten tracks for fear of the Sicilians, and plunging into the thickets of the wildest passes, at length, more dead than alive, reached Ragusa a town in the Angevin interest. The admiral having lost only five galleys, chose to complete the round of the island. Having reached Camerina, he stopped to fish up the anchors of Robert's fleet, and save what vestiges he could of the wrecks; and knowing the spot where the galley of William Gudur, Bishop elect of Salerno and Chancellor of the duke, had gone to the bottom, he exerted himself to such good purpose with grapnels and other machines, that he raised from it a great chest of money the whole of which

he appropritaed to himself, thus turning the loss of his comrades to his own profit. Before this, however, having halted awhile at Palermo, he had a secret interview with Blasco Alagona, in which he represented to him that both the Sicilians and Angevins being equally exhausted, peace was equally necessary for both ;[1] and who can say whether Loria, while entertaining the faithful Blasco with such discourse, did not lay the foundations of a plot which was shortly afterwards discovered.

This was a conspiracy against the life of Frederick, planned by three citizens of Palermo who enjoyed a great reputation throughout the whole island, by name Peter of Caltagirone, Walter of Bellando, and Guidone Filingeri. These had for their accomplice one Peter Frumentino, the husband of a woman named Toda, foster sister of the king, who as a child had been brought up together with Frederick and was well known at court, so that it might possibly be supposed that her husband had been instigated to take part in the conspiracy by domestic injury. He was a cowardly villain, and one night, either

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 19.

from fear or remorse, the thought that he had engaged himself so deeply would not suffer him to sleep. He lay tossing restlessly on his bed, until his wife perceiving it, plied him with questions, and extracted from him the whole truth, the plan of the conspiracy, the names of the conspirators, and, morever, permission to reveal all to the king. Before day-break she hastened to the palace, obtained admission from the domestics on her declaration that the business which brought her thither was of such importance as not to admit a moment's delay; and being conducted to Frederick's apartments, she first required a promise of impunity for her husband, and then revealed the whole of the plot. The rest followed as a matter of course; the conspirators were taken and convicted; Peter of Caltagirone, as their head, paid the penalty of death; and Frederick, who was of a generous nature, spared the lives of Bellando and Filingeri, contenting himself with their expulsion from the kingdom. We are unable to penetrate the motives of a design which is so much the darker, that it menaced at once the life of the king and the liberty of the country, as it is recorded with-

out either comment or detail by Speciale, possibly because some suspicion fell on the House of Anjou, which was afterwards reconciled to Frederick, and gave him a wife who wore the crown of Sicily at the time that Speciale composed his history. This assumption is strengthened by his statement, that the plot was discovered at a time when Frederick having seen the hostile fleet sail twice round the island, was in fear of new machinations, and kept a cautious watch.[1]

Both armies were at this time exposed to increased sufferings by a new enemy, hunger; which was more severely felt by the Sicilians, than by the foreigners who obtained supplies from the mainland. During two years of invasion, the fields of Sicily had lain uncultivated, forsaken, and burned, the trees cut down, the vines uprooted, the flocks carried off, every thing laid waste throughout no inconsiderable portion of the

[1] Nic. Speciale, book v. ch. 20. Fazzello, and others in imitation of him, state the conspirators to have been bought over by the House of Anjou. They thus state as a positive fact, what can be only vaguely surmised from contemporary records, and think by this means to absolve the country from a part, at least, of the guilt of the attempt.

island. Hence arose a scarcity, which Messina was the first to feel, because the sea being closed against her by hostile fleets, her commerce, which was the life of the city, was cut off; while at the same time the price of corn rose higher than in the rest of Sicily, on account of the difficulty of conveyance through the mountainous passes occupied or infested by the Angevins. Already the burghers began to desert the city, passing over to the enemy on the plea of famine or some other pretext; and at their instigation Robert pitched his camp before Messina, deeming that, if the sufferings of famine were aggravated by those of war, he should easily subdue that people who had tamed of yore the pride of his grandsire.

As in the siege of 1282, he put to land at Roccamadore, sent his fleet of a hundred galleys to cruise in the Straits, and advanced with his troops as far as the suburb of Santa Croce, devoting everything to fire and sword. He burnt two galleys in the arsenal of Messina; and every day engaged in skirmishes by sea and land, in which he was constantly repulsed by the citizens and by the mercenaries of the king, amongst whom the chronicler Montaner com-

manded a company. But Frederick having sent seven hundred horse and two hundred "almugaveri," under Blasco Alagona and Count Calcerando, to revictual Messina, Robert, without awaiting them, passed over with all his forces into Calabria, on the very same night on which he learnt Blasco's arrival at Tripi and the advice sent by him to the citizens of Messina, to make a sortie on the following day, when he would come down from the hills and take the enemy in the rear. No sooner was it day-light than the Sicilians, both at the gates of the town and on the hill-tops, began eagerly to prepare for battle regardless of the amount of Robert's forces, when it was discovered that they had fled. Blasco entered Messina, and exultation at the retreat of the enemy and at the abundant supplies that poured in, excited a spirit of defiance in the Sicilians. Xiver de Josa, the standard-bearer of Calcerando, sent to the Calabrias, by a minstrel who was to sing it, a quaint defiance in rhyme, inviting the enemy to return to Sicily where their disembarkation would not be opposed, but where battle would be offered them on dry land and in a fair field. Montaner attributes to fear

Robert's departure from Messina, and failure to accept the challenge; but others ascribe it to a more subtile policy; stating that no amount of supplies brought by land could afford effectual relief to Messina, as the horses of the escort would consume more than they could furnish; while Robert, remaining in Calabria and master of the Straits, could cut off from Messina all succour from Reggio, and thus both at once could be menaced, attacked, and reduced by hunger. He first encamped before Reggio, then with the same prudence retired to La Catona, owing to the gallant defence of Ugone degli Empuri; but he maintained a strict blockade, which soon reduced Messina to a fearful extremity of famine.

Temporary relief was afforded by the great valour of Brother Roger de Flor, of German extraction, born at Brindisi of parents of low degree, who as a child embarked on board a ship belonging to the Templars, and in a few years became an expert seaman, a Knight of the Temple, a warrior and a formidable corsair. He enriched himself amid the destruction of his fellow-christians at Acre, and was persecuted out of envy by

the Grand Master of the Templars, who had him placed under the ban of the Church, for which, amid the confusion caused by the Sicilian wars, he cared not at all. He came with a Genoese galley to Catania, to offer his services to Robert by whom they were rejected, whereupon he immediately entered the pay of Frederick, who was past all dread of excommunication. There, even after our naval disasters, he repaired his fortunes, attacking with Sicilian vessels both friends and foes,—but with this difference, that to the former he gave bills for the amount of the plunder to be reimbursed at the conclusion of peace. Thus, enterprising in design, fearless in execution, rapacious without cruelty, liberal and even prodigal of his ill-gotten wealth, his vices and virtues had combined to raise him to a high pinnacle of renown in the army of Frederick.[1] Informed of the sufferings of Messina, Roger sought the presence of the king, stating himself to be impelled by an eager desire either to supply Messina by sea, or else to perish in the waves, or,

[1] Montaner, ch. 194, and Pachymer, in Andronic, book v. ch. 12, opportunely quoted in this place by M. Buchon. Paris, 1840, p. 409.

which would be far worse, to fall into the hands of Robert and of the Templars. Having obtained the consent of the king, he equipped twelve galleys, filled them with grain at Sciacca, and lay in readiness with them in the port of Syracuse.

When he beheld a strong waveless swell from the south and the sea tinged with bloody red,[1] he recognised the tokens of a coming hurricane from the south, and encouraged his crews to the enterprise, in which, he said, the wind would not leave them at the mercy of the enemy, as in winter it was not likely soon to fail. In the night he gave his sails to the wind, and at daylight found himself at the mouth of the strait. In vain Loria, furious at the sight, caused his galleys to put to sea and the rowers to toil at the oars; they could not contend against the angry waves and strong current of the strait, and the Templar, mocking their fruitless efforts, entered the port under press of canvass. The price of grain immediately fell one half, the hunger of the people was appeased, and

[1] Montaner and Speciale record, with little variation, the signs by which this experienced Captain detected the approach of the "scirocco." The red glow which often tinges the clouds at sunset, and is regarded as a forerunner of wind, might perhaps have given to the sea the bloody hue which Montaner here describes.

they were encouraged to still further endurance. But, exclaims Speciale, the fields of Leontium could not yield, nor the granaries of Agrigentum contain grain enough to avail Messina in her present need.[1]

While the fate of the campaign hung upon that of Messina so obstinately contested, Blasco Alagona, the thunderbolt of the war, the beloved friend of Frederick, the faithful champion of Sicily never yet conquered in battle, fell ill in Messina, in consequence probably of the unwholesomeness of the food, and soon after expired, unwept by the Sicilians, envious, to their shame be it spoken, of his glorious name—unwept, except by Frederick. He shed tears of disinterested affection and interested regret for the loss of his heroic friend, assumed mourning attire, and in open court lauded the valour, the fidelity, and the glorious achievements of Blasco. Beyond this the pressure of public calamity left at that period little time for the indulgence of private grief.[2]

Messina, after the succour afforded by Roger de Flor had been consumed, was reduced to

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 2. Montaner, ch. 196.
[2] Ibid. ch. 3.

greater straits than ever. The flesh not only of beasts of burden, but of cats, dogs, and rats, was eaten as a delicacy; even such loathsome food could only be obtained in the smallest quantities, and to purchase a piece of bread, garments, costly articles of furniture, and even jewels were insufficient. What I here relate are not visions of the imagination, but horrible realities endured by our ancestors in order to maintain the liberty of Sicily and bequeath it as an inheritance to their posterity, by whom it has been so ill preserved. With the darkness of night came still greater horrors; the streets resounded with lamentations. Not the poor, but those in better circumstances, writes Speciale, came forth to beg for food, reduced to skin and bone, and ashamed to display their misery and emaciation by the light of day; while on the morrow many were the corpses found in the streets and squares, victims either of hunger or of the ill effects of their scanty and disgusting sustenance. The whole city presented but one scene of suffering and wretchedness, the pride of the most valiant men was quelled; the fairest women, neglecting all care or adornment of their persons, presented a picture of squalid misery; infants

died in the arms of their mothers, from whose parched breasts their efforts could no longer draw a drop of nourishment. Niccolò Palizzi, citizen and governor of Messina, nobly distinguished himself in this extremity for courage, humanity, foresight, and unshaken constancy. Amid all these perils, and the inevitable vacillations of the people, he continued to provide, with admirable foresight and with as much justice as moderation, for the security of the city against any attempts on the part of the malcontents, and at the same time for sparing the lives even of the guilty. The same dauntless spirit animated, with but few exceptions, the whole people of Messina, to whom Sicily twice owed its salvation during the war of the Vespers; in the first year by their memorable resistance to Charles's efforts to conquer them by force; and now by their still more admirable endurance of the slow, inglorious, inexorable torture of hunger, wearing out the energies at once of soul and body.[1]

Frederick, though still plunged in grief for the loss of Blasco, caused to be collected all the provisions that Val di Mazzara could furnish, and mounting

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 2, 4, 5.

his horse, headed the escort in person, caring not for himself, but only for his people. Having reached Tripi after a long march, two barley loaves and a flask of wine found by chance by one of his attendants, were the only refreshment provided for the king, who having appeased his hunger, flung himself on the ground taking his shield for a pillow, and after a few hours' rest again resumed his journey. Having reached the neighbourhood of Messina, he sent forward the provisions which could suffice only for a few days, and turned back in quest of fresh supplies. He soon returned with more grain and more cattle, this time entering the city; and the eyes which had shed no tears at the rout of the Capo d'Orlando, now overflowed at the aspect of the emaciated and famine-stricken people striving to raise their feeble voices in greetings to their king.

Taking counsel with Palizzi, Frederick determined on the adoption of a remedy, cruel indeed, but still less so than the evil to be avoided. In order that these fresh supplies might not be immediately consumed, he commanded that such of the people of Messina as were most reduced and unfitted to take part in the defence, should leave

the city with him, when he would conduct them to some place where food was abundant. The irresistible instinct of self-preservation now gave rise to conduct which, viewed from a distance only, would appear unfeeling; to the abandonment of home, parents, friends, and all that is held most precious. The children not waiting for the father, nor the wife for the husband, writes Speciale, a weeping and squalid multitude began to ascend the pass through the hills, and Frederick, having commended the city to the brave Palizzi, and laying aside amid these painful scenes all the pomp of royalty, made himself the companion of the unhappy exiles. This period was the most glorious of Frederick's life, because the two virtues with which he was peculiarly gifted—those of humanity and courage—were all that were now required to make of him a hero. "By mountain and slope, by precipice and ravine," (such is the literal translation of Speciale's words,) "he conducted the afflicted band with such familiar kindness, such tender care, that on the way he would take first one and then another infant from the hands of the wearied mothers, and carry them in

his arms, or on the crupper of his horse; while at table the children would throng around him, and he would break bread for them with his own hands." Thus he escorted them to scenes of safety and abundance. While advancing with his helpless convoy to Randazzo, by the road between Francavilla and Castiglione, one of his followers, kept prisoner by the enemy in Castiglione, feigning a wish to demand from the king the payment of some expenses, obtained permission to despatch a messenger to him, by means of whom he secretly imparted to him the information that the castle was insufficiently guarded. Frederick breathed not a word on the subject, and when he reached Randazzo dismissed his attendants, under semblance of retiring to rest. At midnight he caused his men-at-arms to mount their horses in silence, and follow him without knowing whither. By day-break he reached Castiglione and occupied the lower castle and the town, while the inhabitants taking refuge in the upper castle, compelled the garrison to surrender. Thus Frederick regained the fief from Roger Loria. Messina being now relieved, and strength regained in every

quarter, the subjugation of the island by the enemy was a work presenting obstacles far more arduous than they themselves imagined.[1]

On this account Robert, seeing that the blockade produced no effect on Messina, but that rather the famine was transferred to his own camp, and expecting moreover the aid of a fresh army under Charles of Valois, departed from La Catona, leaving Messina glorious and triumphant at the close of this second struggle; and in order to save appearances and obtain time to restore his forces, he entered into negotiations for a truce. Yolanda, rejoicing in the prospect, conducted the negotiations between her husband and brother, at first through the medium of delegates; and an interview having been appointed to take place at Syracuse, thither came the king, and the duke bringing with him his fleet and two companions of the most opposite sentiments, Yolanda and Roger Loria; the former was the first to disembark at the Castle of Maniaci, there embrace in safety and in glory, after five long years of separation, the

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 3, 4. Montaner, ch. 196, records the succour thus twice afforded by Frederick, before the enterprise of Roger de Flor.

brother whom from her infancy she had loved more than all the world besides. Returning the next day with the duke her husband, Robert and Frederick met for the first time, and saluted each other with dignity, and after negotiating for three days, the object of each being to outwit the other and obtain just sufficient respite to recover strength, a truce was at length concluded for the space of a few months.[1]

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 5.

CHAPTER XIX.

CHARLES OF VALOIS AT FLORENCE, AND AFTERWARDS IN SICILY.—FEEBLE EFFECTS OF HIS ARMS.—SIEGE OF SCIACCA.—ATTITUDE AND MEASURES OF FREDERICK.—THE ARMY OF THE ENEMY WASTES AWAY BEFORE SCIACCA.—PROPOSALS OF PEACE, AND PRELIMINARIES OF CALTAVUTURO.—INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE PRINCES.—TREATY OF CALTABELLOTTA—IT IS CARRIED INTO EXECUTION.—BANQUET GIVEN BY CHARLES OF VALOIS IN MESSINA.—MODIFICATION OF THE TERMS OF THE TREATY, BY DESIRE OF POPE BONIFACE.—FREDERICK ACKNOWLEDGED KING OF TRINACRIA—MARRIES ELEANOR DAUGHTER OF CHARLES.—ORIGIN OF THE COMPANY OF ROMANIA.—FROM SEPTEMBER, 1301, TO THE SPRING OF 1303.

The last effort of Boniface was to call in the aid of other foreign arms. He wished at once to subjugate Sicily, and restore on the mainland of Italy the ascendancy of the Guelf faction, which in some provinces had been overpowered and in Tuscany retained a merely nominal superiority, owing to the divisions which had sprung up between the *Neri* and *Bianchi*, the former presuming upon the too great favour shown them by the Pope, the latter ill concealing a tendency to Ghibeline principles. Hence Boniface, who

after the defeat of the Prince of Taranto had again had recourse to entreaties for assistance from the Court of France, whither he had sent orators from himself and from King Charles,[1] now that he perceived Sicily further than ever from submission, and both legates and excommunications[2] disregarded by the *Bianchi* in Tuscany, began yet more urgently to press his solicitations on Robert Count of Artois to return to Italy with an armed force, for which purpose he granted him the ecclesiastical tithes in his own dominions for three years,[3] together with the power of levying taxes on Church property;[4] but he placed his chief dependence on Charles of Valois, into whom from a child precepts of ambition had been instilled by the Roman court. Subsequently to the agreement already related, by which, in exchange for the cession of the titular sovereignty of Aragon, he had obtained to wife a daughter of Charles II. with the county of Anjou for her dower, he had distinguished himself by his valour in the transalpine wars; and immediately on the

[1] Montaner, ch. 193.
[2] Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 39, &c.
[3] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, § 20.
[4] "Danari di mal tolto." (?)—*Trans*

death of his wife, had made another attempt to possess himself of a crown by applying for the hand of Catherine of Courtenay, the claimant of the Greek empire, who had formerly been offered to Frederick, and afterwards solemnly betrothed in presence of the whole French court to James, son of the King of Majorca, who shortly after entered the order of the Minorite Friars; whether from consciousness of a vocation, or indignation at the scheming policy of Philip and Boniface which threatened to impede his marriage, is not known.[1] The Pope now sought to allure Charles by the prospect of pay, of high command, of the office of Senator of Rome and of other dignities; he promised him the hand of Catherine if he would declare war against Frederick; and wrote in explicit terms to the bishops of Vicenza, Amiens, and Auxerre, commanding them to grant

[1] The marriage of Catherine de Courtenay with James of Majorca, was not only treated of, but in 1298 stipulated for, in the presence of the King and Queen of France, and of several princes of the blood, on condition of obtaining the papal dispensation on account of consanguinity. See Diploma in the Royal Archives of France, J, 509,11; and in Du Cange, Hist. de l'Empire de Constantinople, docum. p. 38. But possibly Pope Boniface may have refused the dispensation, in order that the heiress of the Greek empire might be married to Charles of Valois, of whom he had need as the instrument of his designs.

the dispensation if the expedition should be in readiness within a given term, which was several times extended;[1] he moreover held out to him hopes of the conquest of the Eastern empire with the same arms with which he should have subjugated Sicily, and even spoke of his election to the empire of the West; adding to these brilliant visions the tangible reality of the ecclesiastical tithes of France, Italy, the Mediterranean islands, the principality of Achaia, the duchy of Athens, and even England, together with the half of the claims of the Court of Rome on the tithes of the French churches. With these subsidies Charles of Valois was to take five thousand horse into his pay for the Italian wars. The Pope exhorted Philip the Fair and the clergy of France to favour the enterprise; and with the same object he prolonged the truce which he had procured between Philip and the King of England.[2]

[1] Briefs in the Royal Archives of France, J, 721, 8; J, 723, 8, 9; and in Du Cange, Hist. de l'Empire de Constantinople, docum. p. 41. The first wife of Charles of Valois died in France on the 31st December, 1299, and on the 3d February, the Pope was preparing in Rome a dispensation for his second marriage. Du Cange, Op. cit.

[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1300, §§ 20—26, and several briefs in the Royal Archives of France, J, 721, 1. Montaner, *loc. cit.*

Thus it was that in September 1301 Charles of Valois presented himself at the Papal court at Anagni, where he met King Charles and his sons, and was hailed Captain-General in all the States of the Church, and ruler of Romagna, the March of Ancona, the Duchy of Spoleto, and other provinces, with great authority in all secular matters.[1] Boniface was at no loss for a pretext to send him into Tuscany, with the preservation of peace for his titular and ostensible, treachery and violence for his real office. The bull begins by speaking of the Magi, of Solomon, of wisdom and of peace, and proceeds to exaggerate the tumults, the offences, the disobedience and even the ingratitude of the Tuscan people against the paternal rule of the Pontiff, whose desire was to maintain peace there, which it was well known to all he had a right to do, more especially when the imperial throne was vacant.[2] In this council at Anagni it was decided, that deferring the Sicilian

Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 32, 43. Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 7. Ferreto Vicentino, book i. in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. pp. 960, 976, &c. The marriage of Charles of Valois and Catherine took place on the 28th of January, 1301. Buchon, Op. cit. ed. 1840, p. 47.

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1301.

[2] Ibid.

expedition until the spring, Charles of Valois should pass the winter in Tuscany. Going therefore to Florence in November, he there did all the pleasure of the Guelfs; expelling the *Bianchi*, and amongst them the immortal poet, who has heaped on the name of the false and landless prince infamy as lasting as civilization itself. Having by such means restored tranquillity to Tuscany, his tender mercies were all directed towards Sicily. In the month of March, 1302, the princes met again in Rome, where Charles and Robert promised to assist Charles of Valois in his undertaking against Constantinople, in accordance with the terms of the agreement between Charles I. and Baldwin, and never to make peace with Andronicus Paleologus.[1] In the month of April, Charles of Valois set out in the direction of Naples. To the armed forces already prepared, the Pope added fresh excommunications against Frederick, the plenary authority of the Bishop of Salerno as Pontifical Legate,[2] and remission of sins, as in the wars of the Holy Land, to all those

[1] Diplomas of Charles II. and Robert, in the Archives of France, J, 509, 14, and J, 512, 21; and in Du Cange, Hist. de l'Empire de Constantinople, docum. pp. 43, 44.

[2] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1302, § 1.

who should either die in the Sicilian war, or continue to combat until the victory was completed. The soldiers of Charles of Valois moreover obtained a guarantee from Charles II. that in case of their death within his territories, their property should not be touched; a custom ascribed by report to the Court of Naples with regard to foreigners, but disclaimed by it and designated as a vexatious abuse. At the same time the King created Charles of Valois his Captain-General in Sicily; conferred upon him full powers to admit the rebels to royal favour and indulgence; to reinstate them in their possessions, offices, and dignities; to grant fiefs; to pardon those guilty of private crimes and misdemeanours, or of appropriation of the public funds; and to remit the debts both of municipalities and individuals; vaunting all the while his clemency towards a people, which if he sought to punish it according to its deserts, he should be justified in exterminating by fire and sword, and razing its habitations to the ground. Lastly, foreseeing the result of all this show of preparation, and having himself little confidence in the anticipations of glory and of triumph with which he began his letters to

Charles of Valois, he empowered him to make peace with Frederick of Aragon, under certain restrictions unknown to us; promising on his own part that he would not conclude it without the knowledge of his Captain-General. In readiness at Naples under the pontifical banners were a fleet of more than a hundred large ships, numerous bands of horse, Robert and Raymond Berenger, sons of King Charles, and a great number of French barons. And this was the fifth or sixth formidable array marshalled against Sicily by the same potentates with the same means; the war of the Vespers having now attained the twentieth year of its duration.[1]

The commencement of operations was hastened by Robert, who had no sooner signed the truce with Frederick than he assembled the captains of his host, with Cardinal Gherardo and the Sicilians who sided with him, in parliament at Catania. To excuse himself for the ill success

[1] See for all the acts of Charles of Valois in Tuscany, and the preparations for the Sicilian war, besides many diplomas in the Royal Archives of France—Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 7. Tolomeo da Lucca, Ann. in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 1304. Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 49, 50. Chronicle of Dino Compagni, book ii. Chronicle of Parma, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. pp. 842, 843. Here we find the surname of Charles the Landless applied to Valois.

of the war, he boasted that he would speedily return with an overwhelming force, and that in the meantime he left with them the brave William Palotta, as his lieutenant in Catania, and, as pledges of his love, Yolanda, and Lewis, the infant she had recently borne him in Catania. At Naples he was received by the king, the nobles, and the people with as much joy as if he had returned a conqueror; but in council he exposed in less vaunting terms the absolute necessity of straining every nerve in renewed efforts. The Sicilians on the other hand, taking warning from the two defeats they had sustained at sea, and being unable to assemble a regular army in the island, so many portions of which were occupied by the enemy, prepared to resume the system of guerilla warfare. They were encouraged in this determination by their experience of the first invasion of James, and perhaps also of the war in Catalonia in 1285, showing the prodigies that may be performed by a few bands of resolute and hardy warriors, in mountainous regions, among strongholds, and supported by the universal sympathy of the people, which would furnish them with supplies, while cutting

them off from the enemy, and which in the end invariably triumphs over the military pride of a foreign invader. With this object in view, Frederick traversed the island, examining the condition of the fortified places, stirring up the inhabitants of the cities, and exhorting them, should the enemy attack them, to hold out, for their king would be at hand to aid them; or if summoned to the army, to obey the call without delay. The truce having expired, Frederick, in the depth of winter, occupied Aidone by force; Manfred Chiaramonte assaulted and recovered Ragusa; and in every place arms were resumed with greater courage and determination than ever.[1]

The army of the allies, agreeably to the counsel of Roger Loria, directed its first effort against Val di Mazzara, an experiment in which the Prince of Taranto had failed so signally. Nevertheless it seemed advisable to make another attempt upon this part of the country—level, and therefore convenient for cavalry, and which, hitherto comparatively undisturbed, abounded with all the necessaries of life. Towards the close of May, they landed at Termini, a city twenty-four

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 6.

miles from the capital; and possessed themselves of it on the instant, as the people, giving ear to one Simon Alderisio, a coward or a traitor, made no resistance. The host, which our historians describe as countless,[1] encamped in the neighbourhood; but so ill disciplined was it, that on a certain festival, a quarrel having sprung up between the French and Italians, two thousand of their number were left on the field;[2] and they were compelled to await the arrival of twenty-two vessels laden with grain from Apulia, before they could move from their encampment. All that they gained by spreading themselves over the country was a few flocks and some rural plunder, because Frederick had put all the towns in a state of defence, and had himself taken up his post at Polizzi, not far from Termini, being well provided against any siege how long soever. Hence the enemy, advancing against Caccamo, were repulsed by the strength of the place and the valour of John Chiaramonte. Turning afterwards against Polizzi, and sending a challenge to the king, while they drew up in order of battle

[1] Speciale, and Anon. Chron. Sic. *loc. cit.*
[2] Montaner, ch. 197.

on the plain, he returned for answer, that they had only to wait and in good time they would see him. Not daring to besiege him in Polizzi, and wishing to possess themselves of the most important city in the mountain group to westward of the island, they removed their camp to Corleone; but were so dexterously forestalled by the Sicilians, that a band of horse, under Ugone degli Empuri and Berenger degli Intensi, had already entered the town when the Angevin host appeared before it; and already all were in arms, and the citizens on the bastions to receive them, animated by the recollection that they had been the foremost of all the island to follow the example of Palermo in the insurrection of the Vespers. In this spirit they threw open one of their gates when the enemy advanced to the assault, and cut to pieces all who entered. In the *mêlée*, the brother of the Duke Bramante was slain on the threshold, by a stone flung at him by a woman, while in the act of urging his followers to the charge. After a fruitless siege of eighteen days' duration, Charles of Valois retired with shame and loss.[1]

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 8. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 70.

Without even approaching within sight of Palermo, Trapani, and Mazzara, he passed over to the southern coast of the island; and encamped before Sciacca, less on account of the importance than of the presumed facility of its acquisition, as it could be attacked at once by land and sea. But the burghers of Sciacca, commanded by their gallant fellow-citizen, Frederick of Incisa,[1] were so far from being intimidated at the prospect of a siege, that they rather rejoiced in this opportunity of displaying their valour before the eyes of all Sicily. They raised bastions and dug ditches; repaired catapults and other engines of war, and made every preparation for the conflict. The enemy prepared for the attack with no less ardour, the leaders pledging themselves to one another not to depart from Sciacca until they should have obtained possession of it; so easy did the enterprise appear, and such was their chagrin to have struck not one effective blow during the fifty days which had passed since their disembarcation. The Angevin fleet set sail from

[1] Frederick of Incisa was a native of Sciacca, for which, besides the testimony of Speciale, we have proof in two diplomas issued by him as Great Chancellor of the kingdom, in 1317 and 1318. Testa, Op. cit. docum. 36, 37.

Termini, occupied (with what object it is not easy to divine) the little town of Castellamare, and appeared without further delay off Sciacca. The siege having begun in the middle of July was marked by constant fighting; the enemy plied their engines and made frequent assaults, which both alike were disregarded by the besieged encouraged by the near neighbourhood of the king, who had posted himself with his standing troops at Caltabellotta, only nine miles from Sciacca. He afterwards sent thither Simon Valguarnera, with two hundred men-at-arms, and a still greater number of infantry, who having effected an entrance in the night by advancing along the beach through the midst of the hostile posts, so encouraged the citizens, that they subsequently dealt many a rude blow to the allied forces.

But still greater were the sufferings entailed upon the latter by their situation in the open *maremma*, facing the coast of Africa, in the heat of the dog-days, so that a mortality amongst the horses, with which many parts of Europe were at that time afflicted, broke out in the camp where it made great ravages, and was accompanied by

a distemper amongst the men which seized upon them suddenly, reducing the army to so miserable a plight, that scarcely five hundred horse could be brought into action. Frederick now called to mind his father's triumph, and the destruction of the formidable host of France before Gerona. Montaner states with inconsiderate zeal, that Ugone degli Empuri, Roger de Flor, Matthew di Termini and the other captains, urged Frederick to fall upon and exterminate this skeleton of an army, but that he refused to cast such disgrace upon the royal house of France. The truth is, that he wished to leave it to waste away of itself, and meanwhile commanded all the feudal and burgher militias to assemble at Corleone, that he might lead them to certain victory.[1]

But Charles of Valois, informed of this, and seeing his army dwindle day by day, deeming it a disgraceful flight to reembark abandoning the siege, and certain ruin to await the attack of the Sicilians, thought to solve the dilemma by concluding a peace. He moreover mistrusted Boni-

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 10. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 70. Montaner, ch. 197, 198. Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 50. Tolomeo da Lucca, Ann. in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 1305.

face, who had disappointed his hopes of becoming governor of Rome, and longed to bring the Sicilian war to a conclusion whether good or bad, that he might be free to seek conquests for himself in the territories of the Eastern empire. Holding counsel with Robert, who, young and ardent, was unwilling to abandon so fair a part of his paternal inheritance, he reminded him of all the vicissitudes of the Sicilian war, and of all the gold and all the blood that had been expended in vain upon the reduction of the island, of which there appeared now less prospect than ever, owing to the exhaustion of the kingdom of Naples and of the pontifical treasury, and to the diminution of the fame of their arms and increase of that of Frederick, who would be able to renew his attacks upon the Calabrias, to throw the kingdom of Naples into confusion, and to rekindle the flames of civil war in Upper Italy by the aid of the Ghibelines. Robert was not convinced by these arguments, but conquered by the miserable condition of the army and the authority of Valois; perhaps too, the circumstances might have now arisen, under which, according to the instructions of the king, peace might be con-

cluded. And there is no doubt, that either when these instructions were framed in Naples, or at any rate, when they were carried into execution at Sciacca, to end the war so suddenly and bring about so unexpected a result of the French and Guelfic alliance, not only was regard had to the state of the army, but the continuance of the struggle against Sicily was perceived to be too arduous; the island being always prepared for a system of warfare attended with little cost and little danger to itself, while the very reverse was the case with the allies, who would have had to assemble a fresh army, to equip another fleet, and to collect new funds, while the constituent elements of the league already tended to dissolution themselves, as must always be the case in the long run. Negotiations having therefore been determined upon, Charles despatched Amerigo de Sus and Theobald de Cippoio as his orators to Frederick, who had retired to Castronovo to organize his forces.[1] On the 19th of August Frederick ratified the preliminaries of peace, consenting, in order to its conclusion, to an interview

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 10. Anonymi Chron. Sic. ch. 70. Ferreto Vicentino, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 961.

with Charles and Robert, and to the suspension in the meanwhile of all military movements.

On the 24th of August, Frederick, and Charles of Valois, each accompanied by a hundred horse, met in some peasants' huts between Sciacca and Caltabellotta, and discoursed alone for some time, after which Robert was summoned. This meeting between Robert and the Sicilian king, was, doubtless, not without tears for the death of Yolanda, young, beautiful, and of exemplary virtue, an angel of peace between her brother and her husband and deeply attached to them both, who had expired alone at Termini, while the one was engaged in the siege of Sciacca, and the other waiting to attack him.[1] It was but a short time after, and plunged in equal sorrow, that Queen Constance died in Spain. It should seem that her religious zeal had almost overpowered her maternal affection, since in her will she makes no mention of her glorious son Frederick, because he lay under the anathema of Rome.[2] Roger Loria on one side, Vinciguerra

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 9.
[1] Zurita, Ann. of Aragon, book v. ch. 55.

Palizzi on the other, and subsequently many other nobles and captains, were summoned to take part in the interview between the princes. The negotiations were continued for several days, with but little variation from the preliminaries, and peace was concluded on the 29th of August, and solemnly sworn to on the 31st.

By the terms of this peace, Sicily with the adjacent islands remained in the possession of Frederick, to be held by him so long as he lived in absolute sovereignty, independently alike of Naples and of the Pope, with the title of King of the Island of Sicily, or King of Trinacria, at the pleasure of Charles II. The latter was to give his daughter Eleanor in marriage to Frederick, and their issue should receive either the kingdom of Sardinia, or that of Cyprus, or 100,000 ounces of gold, in exchange for the renunciation of Sicily. Frederick should restore the territories he had occupied beyond the Strait, the Angevins those held by them in Sicily, and both parties the prisoners they had taken, and especially the Prince of Taranto, without ransom. Either sovereign should grant an amnesty to such of his subjects as had gone over to the enemy;

but feudataries should lose the fiefs they held of the monarch against whom they had rebelled. From this clause were excepted, according to custom, the two most powerful, Roger Loria, and Vinciguerra Palizzi, permission being granted to them to retain, the former Castel d'Aci in Sicily; the latter Calanna, Motta di Mori, and Messa in Calabria. It was further stipulated that all ecclesiastical property in Sicily should be restored to the same condition in which it stood before the revolution of the Vespers; and lastly, that Charles of Valois should exert himself to obtain the ratification of King Charles and of the Pope.[1]

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 10. Anonymi Chron. Sic. ch. 70. Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 50. Tolomeo da Lucca, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. p. 1305. Ferreto Vicentino, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 962. Montaner, ch. 198. By all these the treaty is briefly recorded; by the Sicilians from a desire to slur over some of the conditions, by the foreigners from ignorance of them. But greater light is thrown upon the subject by the documents transcribed in part by Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1302, §§ 3, 4, 6, 7, and 1303, §§ 24—27, and given still more at length in the Annals of Aragon, book v. ch. 56, 60, by Zurita, who making amends for the brevity of the contemporary historians, Speciale and Montaner, and agreeing perfectly with the extracts afterwards published by Raynald from the Pontifical Archives, had evidently seen the originals of the treaty. The terms were sworn to on both sides on the 31st of August, 1302; and on the same day Frederick proclaimed the conclusion of peace, announcing

Such was the treaty of Caltabellotta,—or, as it is likewise called, of Castronovo, on account of the preliminaries having been there established,—which conferred universal honour upon Frederick and upon Sicily. By it the nation came forth glorious and triumphant from an unequal struggle of twenty years' duration; Frederick succeeded in preserving his crown in spite of the overwhelming superiority of the allied forces opposed to him; and it was an achievement no less honourable to both, to have in three months reduced to such extremity Charles of Valois, Robert, and Loria, at the head of so powerful an army and fleet, and to have bowed the will of the haughty Boniface to theirs. Neither should the Sicilians be accused of having failed to follow up their success against forces so reduced. They could not do otherwise than refuse a truce for a limited period, which would have been of advantage to

simply that he was to retain the sovereignty of the island of Sicily, and giving orders to stop the assemblage of the militia at Corleone. This document is transcribed in the Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 70. The consent of King Charles was speedily obtained, not so that of Boniface; on which account the negotiations were resumed between him and Frederick, and at length, on the 12th of May, 1303, Boniface promulgated a papal ordinance, the substance of which will be recorded in the text.

the Angevins alone; but the case was widely different with regard to a peace by which should be attained the important object of freeing Sicily from the enemy, and securing to her liberty and tranquillity, if only for a few years. For the Angevins, though defeated at Sciacca and driven to flight, while still occupying many towns and strongholds might have long continued to infest the island; and the peace, though pregnant with the germ of future wars, gave leisure and opportunity to the Sicilians for regulating the public revenue, organising the militia, restoring the cities, taming the barons, and preparing themselves to take up arms again with renewed vigour whenever the occasion should call them forth; while the hostile allied forces must by their very constitution be weakened by the progress of time, which never fails to produce change in the circumstances, interests, and inclinations of princes. Thus the promise of the surrender of Sicily on the death of Frederick was perceived by all to be utterly futile, and inserted merely to save appearances; and this is what Villani would insinuate when he speaks of this as a delusive peace; he being, as was natural to a Guelf, ill pleased at the

loss of influence to his own party, and increase of strength to the Ghibelines, which resulted from the establishment of Frederick on the throne of Sicily. Hence all the various Italian factions, though urged by different motives, agreed in heaping contumely on the name of Charles of Valois, and mockingly said of him, that he had come to make peace in Tuscany and war in Sicily, instead of which he had left war in Tuscany, and a disgraceful peace in Sicily.[1] But severer was the blame he deserved for his treacherous abandonment of the Court of Rome, the House of Anjou, and all their allies, by the treaty he entered into at this period with Frederick, in which the latter bound himself to aid him with men and ships in his expedition against Constantinople, and to conclude no separate peace with the Emperor Andronicus Paleologus.[2]

On the same day, the 31st of August, 1302,

[1] Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 50.

[2] Diploma given at Lentini the 26th of September, 1302. Frederick promised to aid Charles of Valois with two hundred horse and fifteen or twenty galleys, with four months' pay; and gave him permission to arm and equip in Sicily ten more galleys and four hundred horse. This diploma is published by Burigny, History of Sicily, book iii. part ii. ch. 5; and by Du Cange, Hist. de l'Empire de Constantinople, docum. p. 43.

Frederick published the substance of the treaty passing over in silence the unfavourable conditions, and revoked the order for the assemblage in arms at Corleone. The siege of Sciacca was raised after three-and-forty days, with great honour to Frederick of Incisa and the citizens; but the peace between the princes could not at once quell the animosity of their subjects, and the soldiers and burghers, writes Speciale, though they mingled in the streets and lodgings, yet regarded each other with caution and suspicion, from long habits of mutual hostility. The French army shortly after re-embarked for Catania. In every town supplies were furnished them, and as they sailed close in shore they all, but especially the common soldiers, admired the smiling beauty of the country, and their light and lively dispositions being easily moved to generous sentiments, they repented having come thither to cause and endure so much misery. Meanwhile a galley, by name the *Angiolina*, set sail from Termini for Naples, bearing the corpse of Yolanda. Frederick went from Caltabellotta to Sutera to set at liberty the Prince of Taranto, who on the invasion of Charles of Valois had been removed thither for greater

security; and all the other prisoners having been conveyed by his orders to Lentini, he there restored them, together with the Prince of Taranto, to Robert, who had come thither for that purpose from Catania. During their stay here the ties of youth, of valour, and of their mutual sorrow for Yolanda, wrought so close an intimacy between Robert and Frederick, that they lived together as brothers, sharing in all each other's amusements; and on one occasion, after a hunting excursion, slept together in the same bed, which was in those days a customary demonstration of friendship. It was likewise from Lentini that the papal legates absolved Sicily from the interdict under which it lay.[1] The princes then went together to Catania, where Frederick granted a full pardon to the citizens, and remained some time amongst them as a mark of his restored favour; this city also witnessed the semblance at least of the extinction of far more bitter hate, when Roger Loria, for the first time after the outbreak of their mutual indig-

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 11, 12. Anonymi Chron. Sic. ch. 70, 71, where we find Frederick's diploma proclaiming the peace, given at Caltabellotta the 31st of August, 1302, and that of the papal legates for the revocation of the excommunications, given at Lentini the 23d of September.

nation in the royal palace at Messina, knelt before his rightful sovereign to do homage for the lordship of Aci. Meanwhile the other Sicilian towns had been relieved from the presence of the hostile garrisons, which being in readiness to return to the mainland kingdom, Loria set sail with the fleet; while the princes, to avoid the tedium of the voyage, by Frederick's permission, pursued their journey on horseback from Catania to Messina.[1]

Here even amidst the rejoicings consequent on the peace was displayed that unyielding and intrepid spirit which had stood the test of trials so severe; for such is the nature of man that the excitement of their passions in public life renders them at once more daring in act and more sagacious in counsel, more eloquent in words and nobler in deeds, and raises them in all respects to greater dignity and eminence, than in their former stagnant and passionless existence they could ever have attained. The Messinese nobles now went forth in the garb of peace to meet the princes, conducted them into the city and lodged them sumptuously. But when Valois invited the

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 13.

chief men of Messina to a banquet, and amongst them Niccolò and Damiano Palizzi, who during the blockade by Robert had commanded the former the city and the latter the castle, Niccolò, taking his younger brother aside, reminded him how often the joys of a festival had served as a cloak for treachery (and Charles of Valois was assuredly no Cato); that the flower of the city would be assembled on the occasion; that their hosts were their deadliest enemies, confident in the favour of the Pontiff; and the occasion such as to tempt consciences even more scrupulous, for were Messina taken by a *coup-de-main* what would become of Sicily? and what crime would not obtain absolution at such a price? On this account he admonished his brother to remain in the castle, and on no account to surrender it whatever might betide, not even should he behold himself (Niccolò) in the midst of the enemy with his head on the block and the executioner in act to strike. This counsel was followed by Damiano.

Speciale here proceeds to describe the banquet; the table covered with the whitest linen, the gold and silver plate, the pages in gay attire obedient to every signal of the seneschal; the attendants

giving the guests water for their hands, serving the viands, or bearing round the wine in goblets glittering with gems, with other similar displays of luxury against which he launches forth, lamenting that princes, and burghers, and those even who had vowed to imitate the poverty of Christ, should waste their substance in such vanities. After the first courses had been removed and conversation had begun, Niccolò Palizzi being seated between Robert and Charles of Valois, the latter inquired of him, what had been the feeling of the citizens in the extremity caused by the blockade, when they beheld the people perishing from hunger, and even the most loathsome food beginning to fail? To this Niccolò, bowing low, replied: "Sir, whether it be the act of man or the will of Heaven, such is our abhorrence of the French name, that to gratify our hate, when the last morsel of carrion was consumed, we would have slain our old men, women, and children, and shutting ourselves up in the palace and in the castle, would have set fire to the city, and thus given proof that the dread fortitude of Saguntum and Perugia was not wanting in Sicily!" Charles upon this shook his head, and, turning to Robert, said: "Behold

what men we had to deal with! Happy is it that peace has been concluded." Within a few days they crossed over to the Mainland, and Sicily remained free and glorious under the sceptre of her king.[1]

King Charles soon after sent his daughter with a splendid escort to Messina, where the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence in the spring of 1303.[2] All the traces of the war were already disappearing, except its glory and the recompenses of valour. Amongst others, Messina obtained fresh grants of freedom from all imposts, and jurisdiction over a greater extent of territory,[3] and Sciacca immunity from customs dues.[4] But the most salutary measure adopted after the peace was that of getting rid of the Sicilian, Calabrian, Genoese, and Spanish mercenaries, who after the conclusion of the war had united in bands to infest the island, and fill it with violence and rapine. The most adventurous of their *condottieri*, Roger de Flor, disdaining such petty

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 14—16.

[2] Ibid. ch. 17, 19, 20. Montaner, ch. 198. Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 70.

[3] Diploma given from Lentini the 1st of October, 1302, in Testa, Vita di Federigo II. docum. 22, 26.

[4] Diploma given from Caltabellotta the 31st of August, 1302, in Testa, Vita di Federigo II. docum. 25.

spoils, and seeing himself once more in danger, owing to the peace, of falling into the hands of the Grand-Master of the Templars, bethought him of taking that fierce soldiery into the pay of the Emperor of Constantinople, to fight against the Turks, by whom his territories were rudely assaulted. Frederick readily gave his consent, glad to rid himself of such a nuisance at home, and furnished them with vessels, arms, provisions, and everything that they required. Thus they departed for the East, and attracting to their standards their brothers-in-arms, the mercenaries who had served on the Angevin side, and any other savage and dissolute men who could not endure the laws and restraints of civilized life, they formed that formidable corps known by the name of the Company of Romania, or Catalan Company, famous for their matchless daring, and infamous for deeds of blood and crime, perpetrated alike on friend and foe, amongst whose principal *condottieri* we find the chronicler Ramondo Montaner, and who procured for the King of Sicily the titular Dukedom of Athens and of Neopatria.[1]

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 21, 22. Gio. Villani, book viii. ch. 51. Montaner, ch. 119, &c. to the close of the Chronicle.

The Pope was the last to accede to the peace. When Charles of Valois presented himself before him, he reproached him with it in terms so bitter, that the prince could scarcely restrain himself from putting his hand to his sword,[1] especially as he was already irritated by the disagreements which had arisen between the Pope and the Court of France on the subject of ecclesiastical discipline, which a few years later gave rise to the excommunication of Philip the Fair, to the capture of Boniface at Anagni, and to his despairing death.[2] Perhaps these very disputes served in

[1] Ferreto Vicentino, book i. in Murarori, R. I. S. vol. ix. pp. 962, 978.

[2] Boniface VIII. a man of extraordinary pride, and energy of mind as well as of body, was so unscrupulous as to avow it his principle, that for the exaltation of the Church any means were lawful. He was at first the accomplice of the crimes and violences of Philip the Fair, and Dante, in the 32d canto of the Purgatorio, represents the Church as governed by Boniface under the figure of a shameless woman, and the French king as a giant by her side :—

"E baciavansi insieme alcuna volta."

This league was not, however, lasting. The king taxed the clergy for his own profit, and retained the first-fruits of the benefices of his kingdom for his uses, while Boniface claimed them as the due of the supreme pontiff. The Pope accused the King of usurpation and sacrilege, and the King denounced the Pope in a provincial synod, by his Advocate-General, Guillaume de Nogaret, as guilty of simony and heresy.

The Pope meanwhile was at war with all the world; and, while arrogating to himself the right of bestowing or withholding the kingdom of Scotland from our Edward I. was obliged to quit

some measure to temper the indignation of Boniface against Frederick; so that he wrote to him in gracious terms to the effect, that he could not

his turbulent capital, and seek refuge at Anagni, a city of the Campagna, which was also his native place. Here he was besieged by Sciarra Colonna (whose house he had persecuted and excommunicated), by Guillaume de Nogaret, the French king's lieutenant, and other barons of the adverse faction. The castle of Anagni was taken, sacked, the papal treasure seized, and the Pope himself imprisoned. The French troops shrank from actually assaulting the person of the Pontiff. Sciarra Colonna and his Italians alone penetrated to his presence. They found the haughty old man seated on a throne, dressed in his pontifical robes, with his crosier in his hand, and the "triregno" (of which he was the inventor) on his head. He glared on them with eyes of fury—but for three days he neither spoke to any one, nor tasted food. At the end of that period he was relieved from captivity by the arrival of the Cardinal del Fiesco with some troops, who, with the assistance of the people of Anagni, drove the enemies from the gates, and rescued the Pope.

It is strange that Dante, while placing the soul of the Pope in hell, and using his name as the type of everything that was simoniacal and anti-christian, yet denounces the violators of his person to eternal punishment in lines of indignant vituperation. In the 20th canto of the Purgatorio, Hugh Capet, in enumerating the crimes of his race, alludes to the sacrilege of Philip the Fair:

> "Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,
> E nel Vicario suo Cristo esser catto.
> Veggio lo un altra volta esser deriso;
> Veggio rinovellar l' aceto e il fele
> E tra vivi ladroni essere anciso."

The Pope was now in the extremity of old age, and the ill usage he had endured, and the frantic emotions he had experienced while in the hands of his enemies, had affected his reason. When removed to Rome, he was placed under the guardianship of two Cardinals of the House of Orsini, who detained him in a sort of captivity in his apartment at the Vatican. This indignity added to his mental malady. He refused to eat, or to speak,

accede to the treaty, as it then stood, without dishonour to the Church, but that the difficulties might easily be removed; that he, in the meantime, was eager to forestall Frederick in the paths

while he glared with resentful fury on his unwelcome attendants. At night, when left by his keepers to repose, he carefully secured the door, and in the morning his attendants were obliged to break it open to obtain admittance. His body was found lying dead on the bed, his staff by his side, all wet with the foam from his lips, and bearing marks of his teeth upon it; his head was severely bruised, and his hair clotted with blood. It was conjectured that he had dashed his head against his chamber walls, and had afterwards suffocated himself with his bed-furniture. He expired on the 11th October, 1303, at the age of eighty-six, after a reign of nearly nine years. The various chroniclers of the period have given this account, which has been followed by Sismondi and other general historians. The most accurate and particular of these is Dino Compagni, who has preserved a letter written by Sciarra Colonna, and dated soon after the death of the Pope, in which he gives the details of his few last days. He was buried in St. Peter's.

About ten years ago, while some repairs in the crypt of St. Peter's were in progress, Don Michel' Angelo Caetani descended into the vault where his ancestor was buried. The coffin was opened; the body was but slightly decomposed, and the robes were in a perfect state of preservation. There was every appearance of haste and neglect in the interment; the body was wrapped in the clothes that had been worn in life; one arm was raised; the mouth was open, and the features distorted. As seen by the light of the torch, it required but little effort of the imagination to suppose that traces of the feelings with which he had expired might yet be discerned on the features of the deceased, and that death had surprised him with imprecations against his enemies fresh on his lips.

The fact of Sciarra Colonna striking the Pope on the cheek with his mailed glove at Anagni, is denied by the Italian historians, though it has been asserted by those of France.—*Note furnished by the Editor.*

of peace, and therefore absolved him from excommunication, and would not refuse the necessary dispensation for his marriage with Eleanor; furthermore, he would send the Bishops of Salerno and Bologna to Sicily, together with one of his household, James of Pisa, to negotiate the remodelling of the terms of peace. The King of Sicily, who was beginning to appreciate the blessings of a quiet life, consented to recognise the feudal supremacy of Rome, which had been distinctly disclaimed in the treaty of Caltabellotta, and was now positively insisted upon by Boniface. He therefore sent Count Ugone degli Empuri, Frederick of Incisa, and Bartolomeo dell' Isola, to Rome, to promise the oath of fealty, a tribute of three thousand ounces of gold, and the service of a hundred lances—that is, of three hundred horse—in imitation of the terms on which Clement had granted to the Count of Anjou the kingdoms wrested from Manfred and from Conradin. Frederick assumed the title of King of Trinacria, and promised the Court of Rome the free export of grain from the island, with full restitution of all ecclesiastical property. The terms honourably obtained by the sword having thus been defaced by negotiation, Boniface

ratified them by a pontifical ordonnance of the 21st of May, 1303, with the approbation of the whole of the sacred college, from which only one cardinal dissented.[1]

This act of Frederick was illegal in itself, and not binding upon Sicily, in virtue both of her own prescriptive rights, and of the express and fundamental law passed in 1296, prohibiting any act of foreign policy without the consent of the nation; for we find no document to prove that such consent was ever given, either to the peace of Caltabellotta, or to the remodelled treaty with Rome, nor are we aware that the existence of such a document was ever alleged. It therefore remains matter of doubt, whether Frederick wished to retain this loophole, to disclaim at some future time both the treaty and the feudal homage to the Pope; or whether, exchanging the support of the people for the alliance of sovereigns, he preferred an inglorious peace to a glorious resistance, and acted in violation of his own laws so soon as he was able to do so with impunity. It is certain, on the one hand, that

[1] Nic. Speciale, book vi. ch. 18. Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1302, §§ 5, 6, 8; and 1303, §§ 24—26.

Frederick never paid the tribute to Rome;[1] never sent the promised forces; that a few years later he again declared war; that resuming the ancient title of King of Sicily, he threw overboard at once both treaty and papal ordonnance;[2] and that finally he caused Peter II. to be recognised as his successor by the parliament, so that the legal vote of the nation did away with the last traces of its disgrace, if any such could be incurred by the illegal act of Frederick alone. On the other hand, it must be remembered, that he was weary of the war, and disgusted by the licence of the barons and the mercenary soldiers; that the narrow limits within which his power was confined by the constitution of 1296 might possibly be irksome to him; and above all, that he was not in reality so great a man as he is represented by history, which observes but little moderation, whether in praise or blame. Frederick was of a refined, gentle, and courteous nature, of cultivated mind, addicted to love, and inclined to friendship which he carried to excess often suffering himself to be guided by the coun-

[1] Raynald, Ann. Eccl. 1303, § 54.

[2] This took place in 1314. In Anon. Chron. Sic. ch. 79, we find Frederick's diploma to this effect dated the 9th of August.

sels of his favourites; and hence arose the turbulent dissensions in his court, which exposed him to so great danger by the rebellion of Roger Loria, and even after external peace was secured, kindled internal discord in Sicily. In the management of the affairs of state he showed neither great sagacity nor great magnanimity, nor can we deem so highly of the political as of the military conduct of a prince, who, in 1295, suffered himself to be cajoled by Boniface, and brought to the verge of treachery to his country; who neither knew how to quell nor to conciliate his barons; and who, subsequently to this peace, resuming arms in the time of the Emperor Henry of Luxembourg, adventured too much, accomplished too little, and brought upon himself the accusation of avarice and cowardice, (though uttered in terms of unmerited severity,) from that Dante, who had fixed his hopes on him as heir of the lofty soul of Peter I.

Such, by the collation of the most authentic historical sources, appears to have been the character of Frederick, who was exalted to the skies by his minister Speciale, and by the Catalan soldier of fortune, Montaner, and admired by all succeeding ages, because to him has been ascribed

all that was effected at the commencement of his reign by the Sicilians, excited to a pitch of heroic virtue by the revolution of the Vespers. But if his abilities did not suffice to exalt him to the rank of a great captain or distinguished statesman, he will yet always occupy a brilliant page in Sicilian history for his bravery and sincerity, his constancy in adversity, activity in time of war, valour in battle, vigilance in civil administration, and benevolence to his subjects; while his fame will be secured by the noble laws which bear his name, and which, if not dictated by his ability,[1] unquestionably owed their adoption to his prudence and magnanimity.

[1] With regard to Frederick, it will not be superfluous to remind the reader, that Dante in the first cantos of the "Purgatorio," speaks of him as an honour to Sicily; that he intended to dedicate to him that canticle of the "Paradiso," which afterwards received the name of Can Grande della Scala; and that exchanging this veneration for bitter scorn in many passages of the Purgatorio itself, of the Paradiso, and also of the Treatise on the Vulgar Tongue, he stigmatizes him as avaricious, cowardly, and iniquitous. The biographers of the great poet have not sufficiently ascertained whether he ever visited Sicily, or what were the private motives which produced so great a change in his sentiments with regard to Frederick. As for the public ones, which are more worthy of Alighieri, every one knows the lofty hopes that were excited amongst the Ghibelines, by the passage into Italy of the Emperor Henry of Luxembourg; his league with Frederick; and the premature death of Henry; owing to which the king, who had hastened at the head of the Sicilian army to unite himself with the emperor against the Angevins of Naples, returned

to Sicily. This return, though perhaps compulsory on the part of Frederick, deprived the Ghibelines of their last hope of escape from ruin, and they therefore looked upon it as an act of perfidy, cowardice, and villany; accusations often heaped by oppressed factions upon foreign powers, when they hold out hopes of aid which they fail to make good. This is, therefore, sufficient to account for Dante's change of opinion. The following are the passages alluded to above:—

"Poi disse sorridendo: I' son Manfredi
* * * *
Vadi a mia bella figlia, genitrice
Dell' onor di Cicilia, e d'Aragona."—*Purg.* c. 3.

To this Benvenuto de Imola appends a note:—"Id est honorabilium regum; quia domnus Fridericus fuit rex Siciliæ et domnus Jacobus rex Aragonum;" nor can any other interpretation be reasonably admitted.

"Che non si puote dir dell' altre rede:
Jacomo e Federigo hanno i reami:
Del retaggio miglior nessun possiede."—*Purg.* c. 7.

"Vedrassi l' avarizia e la viltate
Di quel, che guarda l' isola del fuoco,
Dove Anchise finì la lunga etate:
E a dare ad intender quanto è poco,
La sua scrittura fien lettere mozze,
Che noteranno molto in parvo loco."—*Parad.* c. 19.

"E quel che vedi nell' arco declivo
Guiglielmo fu, cui quella terra plora,
Che piange Carlo e Federigo vivo."—*Parad.* c. 20.

"Racha, Racha. Quid nunc personat tuba novissimi Federici; quid tintinnabulum secundi Caroli; quid cornua Johannis et Azzonis marchionum potentum; quid aliorum magnatum tibiæ? nisi: Venite carnifices, venite atriplices, venite avaritiæ sectatores. Sed præstat ad propositum repedare quam frustra loqui."—*De Vulgari Eloquio*, book i. ch. 12.

And here we may remark that Dante, even while inveighing so bitterly against Frederick, nevertheless assigns to him the trumpet of a warrior; but to Charles the Second of Naples, the bell of a sacristan; thus agreeing minutely with the description given by Neocastro, (ch. 112,) of the tents of Charles II., and of James, then King of Sicily, during the negotiations for the peace of Gaeta, in the year 1291. See Chap. XIII.

CHAPTER XX.

CONCLUSION. — THE STATE OF SICILY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION OF THE VESPERS; HOW MODIFIED THEREBY; WHAT IT REMAINED.

The peace of Caltabellotta, which after the lapse of twenty years from the revolution of 1282, brought about for the first time a general cessation of hostilities, forms the natural limit of the present work, since it closes the period of successful revolution which I have undertaken to record; for, not only were the foreign potentates who, with or without right, laid claim to the possession of the island, brought to acknowledge a constitution hitherto stigmatized by them as rebellious, but the internal effects produced by the outbreak began likewise to fade away. And although the war was resumed after a brief space with much of its former heroism, the treaty of Caltabellotta disowned, and the absolute independence of the nation maintained to its full extent, yet all this

was but a feeble repetition of the former glorious contest; less vigorous attacks of the enemy were repulsed with greater effort; the energy of a first impulse was wanting; the evil seed of feudalism again began to raise its head; and the moving power was rather to be sought in the court, enfeebled by dissension, than in the will of the entire nation. Before, however, I take leave of this noble subject, I think it will be advisable to consider what was the state of Sicily before the revolution of the Vespers; what it became in consequence of that revolution; and what it finally remained.

In the twelfth century we see her teeming with industry and activity, civilized, and powerful beyond almost any other Italian state; subduing the petty principalities between the Straits of Messina and the Garigliano; becoming involved in consequence of this new acquisition of territory in the civil wars of Italy; and at the same time inclining to a more intimate union with the mainland provinces, and to a more absolute form of government, to which, as well as to very high taxation, she was subjected for a considerable portion of the 13th century under the dominion of the House of Suabia; but the greatness of

mind of the sovereigns themselves mitigated both these evils by the introduction of admirable civil laws, refinement of manners, and cultivation of intellect such as to forestall the other Italian provinces in the revival of letters, while at the same time they gave the impulse of opposition to the Court of Rome. But rapacity and severity did more to disgust than these benefits to conciliate the people, and hence arose the republic of 1254, which being crushed by the barons, the Suabian dynasty resumed its sway with the same merits and the same faults as before, so that no long time elapsed before it again fell before popular discontent rather than foreign force.

But the Angevin government, instead of taking warning by the fate of its predecessor, rushed madly into the utmost licence of abuse. It not only changed the persons of the feudataries, but gave fresh vigour to feudality, carrying all the errors of the Suabian rule to far greater lengths, and draining the life-blood of the country to enable it to interfere more vigorously in the struggles carried on by ambition in Italy and in the East. But the bow was drawn so tight that at length it snapped. The antagonism of race

and the sentiment of Latin nationality conspired to render yet more intolerable the tyranny which, even when ancient and national, drives a people to rebellion so soon as the opportunity presents itself. Of the two subject people, the Sicilians were the first to commence the contest, either owing to their naturally more fiery disposition, or to the greater oppression under which they laboured; for the removal of the court to the Mainland there afforded some compensation for the general sufferings, while to the island it was both a political outrage and a material injury; so that after the revolution Charles I. himself, and afterwards Charles II., offered to Sicily an independent administration, a viceroy, with extensive powers, and moderate laws; remedies which, applied in time, would perhaps have prevented the horrors of the Vespers, but when offered thus late found no one to give ear to them. The conspiracy either had no share in the movement, or had but little effect in hastening it. The occasion of the outbreak might have been delayed; it might have been unsuccessful a first or a second time; but the revolution could not fail while such

was the spirit of the people and the senseless hostility of the Government.

The first example of action flashing before their eyes awoke to manly daring, as if by enchantment, those who had previously wallowed in abject slavery. Trembling at a glance, suspicious of each other; shy and resentful, yet without daring to harbour a thought of resistance; grown callous to poverty, injustice, contempt, domestic dishonour and blows; retaining of the dignity of human nature nothing but the hatred which they locked in their own bosoms,—who could have recognised in them the descendants of Empedocles, Dion, and Archimedes; of the companions of Timoleon; of the conquerors of Imera? And yet the first shadow of example was sufficient. The unknown slayer of Drouet, by his single blow, aroused the people of Palermo, and through them the inhabitants of the entire island, to Grecian heroism. The revolution sprung from the people, and assumed a popular form; the nobles subsequently taking part in it infused into it a tendency towards monarchy and the restoration of ancient laws. The whole nation worked

in unison towards the establishment of the new order of things, for it is needless to specify the few nobles who took part with the House of Anjou, and the few more crushed by the ingratitude or suspicion of the new monarch.

Whoever contemplates the Sicilians at this period, will behold them within the same year 1282 which had found them stagnating in the lethargy of servitude, daring in combat, ready and sagacious in counsel, burning with patriotism, united amongst themselves, full of constancy and endurance, not devoid of generosity even at that period of inhuman cruelty; and after a brief space he will find them transformed into experienced warriors and seamen, practised statesmen, firm opponents of the Court of Rome, yet equally firm adherents of religion and of the Gospel. He will behold lawgivers rising up amongst them whose names have not been handed down to us, but whose imperishable memorial exists in the wise laws they dictated. He will see letters cultivated; the study of history having the preponderance, as was natural at such a period of political disturbance, over that of poetry which had flourished at the Suabian Court; Guido delle Colonne com-

posing a Trojan history[1] at the time of the commencement of the revolution, and Neocastro a national and contemporary one; affording a brilliant example to Speciale, to the anonymous author of the Sicilian Chronicle, to Simon di Lentini, Michele di Piazza, and others; while the forcible and biblical character of the style proves the loftiness of thought from which it sprung. Most surprising of all, he will see industry flourishing amidst the clash of arms. So true it is, that there is no branch of human skill or action which does not acquire fresh vigour from the boiling passions of a political movement.

Such effects are produced sometimes by the transcendent genius of the few, or even of a single individual swaying the multitude at his pleasure; sometimes by the fortunate disposition of the people, guided by the force of circumstances, so that even those only moderately gifted may of themselves compass splendid achievements, unaided by the power of a ruling mind. The latter appears to me to have been the case with the Revolution of the Vespers; because, setting aside the fables concerning John of Procida,

[1] See Tiraboschi, Stor. della Lett. Ital. vol. iv. book ii. ch. 6.

which at best abandon their hero at the commencement of the revolution, no individual of such preponderating influence makes his appearance on the scene until the first siege of Messina; and it was perhaps this very deficiency which caused the failure of the Republic. In Messina Alaimo of Lentini subsequently acquired immortal fame; for to him, and to the Messinese, must we ascribe the escape of Sicily from subjugation by the overwhelming forces of Charles. Peter of Aragon and Roger Loria caused the destruction of Alaimo; but, at the same time, they inured the islanders to war, and made a noble use of the united valour of the Spaniards and Sicilians, to confound the enemy in Sicily and prostrate them in Spain; and long after the death of the former, and the treason of the latter, the impulse which they had given continued to work, and to raise up other men of renown to accomplish the task they had begun.

These were the elements that maintained the crown upon the head of James in glory and security; and raised Frederick to the throne when James abandoned the cause of the Revolution. These, gaining in vigour in proportion to

the dangers they had to encounter, alone confronted the forces of the half of Europe, when those very Spaniards who had come to their assistance at first, with a view to their own interests, in pursuance of the same interests took part against them: a practice which has existed from time immemorial, showing international friendships to be but an idle dream, or a fire of straw, and interest so pertinacious a counsellor that it never fails to bend to its views the will of both sovereigns and people.

The exaltation of Frederick to the regal dignity, whether we look upon it as a confirmation or a renewal of the revolution, is in my opinion more glorious than the first outbreak, as being brought about neither by fortuitous circumstances, nor by the frenzy of desperation, but by the moral courage and political sagacity of our forefathers, and that without tumult or bloodshed, in dignified unanimity, and with all the majesty of a national determination, planned, resolved, and executed despite the opposition of powers a hundred-fold superior. The number of statesmen and warriors, eloquent orators, and citizens of incorruptible integrity, who flourished in the reign of James, and

in the early part of that of Frederick, manifestly display the effect of the movement of 1282, from which the regenerate nation arose in the full vigour of manhood. And thus, if the character of Frederick himself was not marked by any very extraordinary qualities, yet such was the spirit of the Sicilian people supporting him, that it enabled him to resist, and in the end to foil the last effort of the allies.

If we proceed to take a general view of the war of the Vespers, it were hard to say which nation had most reason to boast of the favours of fortune. Charles of Anjou, at the head of an insignificant array, at the outset conquered the gallant Manfred ruler of two kingdoms, and not long after dispersed and destroyed the Ghibeline forces assembled under Conradin; but subsequently neither he nor his successors, though at the head of a warlike array of overwhelming magnitude, could, by the most obstinate exertions, effect the subjugation of Sicily alone. In twenty years the Sicilians gained four victories on the seas, and three pitched battles on land; were successful in many lesser engagements on both; captured numerous fortresses;

occupied both the Calabrias and Val di Crati; repulsed three hostile armies from Sicily; twice raised the siege of Messina, and twice that of Syracuse, not to mention those of other places of less importance. And this series of victories was interrupted only by two naval reverses, and three years of hostile invasion of the island, during which, however, the enemy obtained no advantage in the field, and all the towns they occupied were yielded to them either by composition or by treason. These disasters were occasioned by the military talents, the intrigues, and the influence of James, of Roger Loria, and of the Spanish adventurers. But when once the Sicilians were convinced of the madness of the attempt to carry on naval warfare without an admiral, fortune again smiled upon them by land; they cut to pieces the disciplined troops of France and Italy in the guerilla warfare for which Sicily is so eminently adapted, and in the long struggle finally worsted the kingdom of Naples, which, with a population three times as numerous, was unable to subdue the island, although, in addition to its own funds and forces, were lavished against Sicily the ecclesiastical tithes of all Europe, the subsidies of the

Guelf cities of Italy, and loans from the Court of Rome to the amount of more than three hundred thousand ounces of gold, (which, according to Villani,[1] the Pope remitted to Robert at the time of his coronation;) yet all was insufficient, though troops were supplied for the war by France, subsequently by Aragon also, and always by unhappy Italy; and though Rome emptied her whole quiver of anathemas in an age not only religious, but superstitious, and expended against Sicily all the arts of that court, at once dexterous, sagacious, and accustomed to regulate the political relations of the whole of Christendom. Yet the island, aided by none with funds and by Spain with troops only for a time, with the assistance of a few Catalan adventurers and Genoese Ghibelines alone, carried on the war with unfailing vigour, and, at its close, triumphantly secured her glorious object. Such, Sicilians, were the deeds of your forefathers in the thirteenth century! Thus they reasserted their independence as a nation, their dignity as men; and it was they who set the example to Scotland, Flanders, and Switzerland, all of which, at about the same

[1] Book viii. ch. 112.

period, shook off the yoke of foreign domination.

If we now turn our attention to internal reform we shall find no less cause for admiration. The struggles of a people for liberty are by their very nature evanescent, unless they are consolidated into a regular system of government, and those evil and designing men removed, who seek to destroy their fruits. The former was happily accomplished by our forefathers, the latter they wanted knowledge or power to effect. As laws are ever framed in accordance with the interests of the dominant party, so those of Sicily were dictated with equal regard to the advantage of the barons and the people, by the Aragonese sovereigns who owed their crown to both. By these the constitution of William the Good was rendered yet more liberal; the power of making peace and war, and, with little restriction, that of legislation also, was vested in the parliament; its meetings were declared annual and regular; to it the ministers and other officers of the state were responsible; and a high court of peers was instituted or restored. The parliament, as is well known, was composed of the prelates, barons, and

representatives or syndics of the cities; and it seems beyond a doubt, that in those earlier days their deliberations were carried on in a body, that is, in one common hall; a mode of proceeding which, giving freer scope to passion and impetuosity, was afterwards changed under the Spanish sovereigns. So much for the government of the state. The next most important branch of administration, that of the public revenue, was regulated with more cautious sagacity. The occasions and the amount of general collections were limited by fundamental laws and the authority of parliament rendered necessary for their exaction, whence they subsequently obtained the significant appellation of "benevolences." The municipal administration was rendered more liberal, its main feature being the assembly, or rather parliament as it was termed, in which all or nearly all the citizens took part, while a law specially designed to that effect excluded from it the order of nobles. These popular parliaments, or in some places, according to local custom, the counsellors elected to represent them, regulated all the affairs of the commune; that is, the taxation for municipal purposes, the distribution of the

burden of general collections, the armament of the militia on the summons of the king, and the election of the magistrates of the town and of the syndics for the parliament. The institution of jurors (*giurati*) was a public office exercised in every commune to complete the system of censorship, at the head of which was the parliament. The high civil and criminal jurisdiction remained in the hands of the magistrates appointed by the king, but they were augmented in numbers, brought into nearer connexion with the people, and such measures taken as were deemed most advisable to restrain their arrogance and rapacity. Thus the Sicilians came forth from their revolution in the thirteenth century with a political constitution hardly equalled by those of the most civilized nations in the nineteenth century. It is worthy of remark, that Sicily alone of all the Italian provinces, enjoyed a monarchical government thus constituted; the rest, with the exception of Venice, were either unstable republics, or ruled by lords whose authority was absolute; even in the kingdom of Naples, the regal power soon extended itself beyond the limits of the constitution framed by Pope Honorius, and succeeded

in effacing all recollection of it, being spurred on rather than restrained by the frequency of rebellion.

During the whole of the remainder of Frederick's reign, and those of his feebler successors, no other general laws were promulgated in Sicily, but only particular statutes, which served rather to make manifest than to repress the growing disorders of the state. The origin of these was to be found in the aristocracy, which in Sicily pursued a different course to that which it held in the other countries of Europe, where it sprung up in the barbarous ages when abuses were most rife, and where subsequently the united interests of the monarch and the people combined to repress it. But in Sicily being founded by a sovereign, and at the period of the first Crusades, its power was moderate at the commencement; and if by its nature it tended to usurpation, it was restrained by the monarchs, and checked by the outbreak of the Vespers, until, in the course of the long war, recovering wealth and influence, and with them rapacity and pride, and becoming the most powerful branch of the state, its arrogance led to its division into factions, and both the court

and people were drawn in to share in its dissensions, which lacerated Sicily during the latter part of the reign of Frederick. Proceeding from bad to worse, and unrestrained by the feeble efforts of Peter II. and Frederick II., it came at length to open feudal anarchy; the public weal was lost sight of in the strife of party; the name of Sicily was no longer heard, but only that of Palermo, Messina, or some other town, whichever was in the ascendant as representing the Italian or the Catalan interest; or the names of families, such as Palizzi, Alagona, Ventimiglia, Chiaramonte, and others equally haughty, at once their own and their country's foes. Those who, having taken up arms in the war of the Revolution, regretted the indolence and licence of military life, entered the pay of the barons, and even the free burghers began to take part with them as followers and partisans. Nevertheless, a century elapsed before this canker could destroy the energy produced by the Revolution of the Vespers. The history of that period continues, as already stated, to exhibit a reflection of former glories; and in 1213, when the Emperor Henry appeared in Italy, we behold the King of Sicily rise in his

cause against the King of Naples, equip a powerful force, and again occupy the Calabrias; and when the efforts of the Ghibelines in Upper Italy proved unsuccessful, and that the whole power of the Guelfs turned against Sicily, we behold her sons maintaining a gallant defence; the Sicilian parliament annulling the treaty of Caltabellotta, and calling Peter, son of Frederick, to succeed his father; Palermo, besieged by a countless host of Neapolitans and Genoese, rivalling the glories of Messina in 1282 and 1301; and throughout the war the enemy who invaded Sicily to plunder villages, burn crops, waste fields, and besiege cities, coming thither only to perish. Hence the relics of the invading hosts returned beyond the sea in shame and discomfiture; hence Sicily remained victorious even though her barons, in the madness of party hate, called the foe against their own country. From this time forward, it is only with indignant shame that we can trace the history of Sicily, as of every other feudal monarchy; for we behold municipal dissensions breaking out after the example of those of the barons; and becoming only so much the more bitter and destructive as they assumed a greater semblance

of patriotism. In the midst of this deplorable discord, for the further misery of the island, the House of Aragon became extinct; that of Spain succeeded to it, and failed likewise; and this was the ruin of the political independence of Sicily, because habit had now rendered a monarchical government essential, while their unhappy divisions made it impossible for the Sicilians to agree in the election of a king. Messina, which still retained its greatness and vigour, proposed this measure in the parliament of 1410, but could not carry it through, owing to the opposition of the barons of Catalan extraction, who united all the vices of potentates, leaders of faction, and foreigners. Hence Sicily had to endure the dominion of Spain, with the meagre satisfaction of retaining the name and forms of an independent kingdom. Preserving her ancient laws for the administration of the public revenue, justice, and other matters of civil government, she was coupled with the kingdom of Naples under the same foreign yoke, like two slaves bound by the same chain. Ardour was quenched, intellect deadened, superstition increased; the people, engaged in disputes concerning petty and childish nonentities, retrograded

towards barbarism, and the state of Sicily became worse and worse, until Charles the Third ascended the throne, when both the kingdoms were restored, and the civilization of Europe began to struggle with the herculean labour of reestablishing equality amongst the sons of Adam.

This long lethargy under the dominion of Spain, which degraded the people, while it preserved outward forms, sought profit and submission, and cared for nought besides, was the cause of the preservation until the commencement of the 19th century, though with little of life and vigour, of the ancient stock of the Norman constitution, which had been remodelled in the Revolution of the Vespers. The parliament still existed, divided into three branches, the clergy, the barons, or military power, and the representatives of the people; only the barons were no longer military, and the popular representation was confined to the few cities comprised in the royal domains. These three chambers assembled and deliberated separately, in order to render them more submissive, and the decision of the three, or of two against one, was regarded as the voice of the general parliament. This parliament had lost not only the right of making war and

peace, but even that of legislation, excepting inasmuch as it could petition for some particular statute, under the name of an act of grace. By a strange contrast, and, as it were, a rivalship in courtesy, the subsidies granted by the nation to the sovereign were called presents or benevolences. Still more anomalous was a permanent body of twelve members elected by the parliament, four from each of its branches, entitled a Deputation of the Kingdom and with authority equal to its name, whose office was to defend the franchises of the parliament and of the nation, to regulate the administration of the taxes granted by the former, and agreeably to the decrees of the latter, to furnish money to the king, or employ it for the public good. This august magistracy either took its rise from the ancient barons' court, or was derived from the institutions of Aragon; in the constitutions of other nations we find it existing only temporarily and as an abuse, but in Sicily it was permanent and beneficial. The ordinary parliament assembled every four years; it was especially jealous of taxation, and afforded but niggard supplies of money to the crown, which, in this particular, never violated its privileges, in consequence of which, up to the commencement

of the war which followed upon the French revolution in the eighteenth century, the whole public revenue of Sicily did not amount to 700,000 ounces a-year. While the regal authority was so limited, in this respect, it enjoyed absolute power over the persons of the citizens ; it put forth laws and statutes at pleasure, provided only they were not opposed by the Deputation of the kingdom, which it was nowise difficult to influence ; and the ministers and public officials were responsible for their actions to the crown alone. The regal power was, in great part, wielded by the viceroy, aided by the council of the chief magistrates of Sicily ; and this was at once a great benefit and a great evil; the former, because the measures of the government were the more prompt, and being the result of personal knowledge, were taken less carelessly and blindly; the latter, owing to proconsular arrogance and rapacity. The nobles and the clergy stood, indeed, between the king and the people, but rather to overshadow and to oppress than to defend. Of the forms of municipal government it is needless here to speak, for they were the same as in old time, differing in different places, and overlaid with privileges, but very liberally constituted with regard to the

management of their revenues. The administration of justice and of the civil government was carried on by means of a machinery somewhat antiquated, but good inasmuch as it was simple. The civil and criminal laws, on the contrary, were hopelessly complicated. Such was the government of Sicily up to the commencement of the present century.

The Spanish rule enervated those by whom these laws should have been carried out; and hence Sicily, which at the period of the foundation of the Norman dominion, possessed a code nearly resembling that of England, and which, in the memorable Revolution of the Vespers, reformed and augmented it, bequeathing it as a noble inheritance to future generations; gradually declining from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, retained at that period much similarity in form, but little in substance, with the English common law, which afterwards came so much into vogue. And when the French revolution, like a hurricane, shook the ancient edifice to its foundations, the nation, with the exception of a few enlightened individuals, was neither capable of appreciating its merits, nor correcting its defects.

APPENDIX.

ENUMERATION AND EXAMINATION OF ALL THE HISTORICAL AUTHORITIES FOR THE EVENTS OF THE REVOLUTION OF THE VESPERS.

This revolution, recorded by all historians who touch upon the period of which it was the most remarkable event, has been coloured by each one in accordance with his individual views; and as successive writers have copied from one another, the facts have gradually become altered and modified, and the causes indistinct and obscure. In chapters v. and vi. I have stated what, after careful examination and comparison of all the historical authorities of the period, appears to me to be the truth, together with the process of reasoning which led me to this conclusion. I now proceed to particulars, first reminding the reader that under the head of Historical Authorities I include—1st, Contemporary writers, collated together, and estimated according to the party to which they belonged, to their position more or less favourable to the knowledge of facts, and to the degree of judgment and accuracy which they severally exhibit; 2dly, Official documents, which I place second in authority, because, in the present case, few are to be found adequate to the establishment of facts beyond a doubt, while, on the other hand, they are of great importance in explaining the words of historians, and adding to or taking from the validity of their statements; 3dly, Tradition, so far as it may be considered of value after five centuries and a half of social

existence; 4thly, The necessary existence of causes to produce subsequent undoubted results.

Beginning with the contemporary historians, or those who flourished immediately after the period in question, I must observe, that they are divided into French, Catalans, and Sicilians or other Italians; and these latter into Guelfs and Ghibelines; so that most of them in writing were animated by party spirit, while only a very few either were devoid of it, or preferred truth to its gratification. Hence it is that some, without adverting to the causes of the revolution, record only the massacre of the French in Sicily with the addition of a few isolated or insignificant circumstances, and nothing more. Others, with great ingenuity, work up a conspiracy, and represent the outbreak of the Vespers as its immediate result. Others, again, touching more or less upon the preparations and the wishes of Peter of Aragon, proceed, without further connecting them together, to relate the revolt of Palermo as arising from hatred of the Angevin tyranny, which broke forth on a sudden, owing to provocation given during a popular festival. We will, therefore, divide into these three classes the historical evidence which we have to examine.

In the first must be placed Ricobaldo Ferrarese, (Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix.;) the fragments of Pisan Histories, (*Ibid.*;) the two Biographies of Pope Martin IV. (*Ibid.* vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 608, 609, and pt. ii. p. 430;) the Sicilian Fra Corrado, who, horrified by the fearful events which had taken place before his eyes, shrunk from particularizing them, (*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 729;) the monkish Catalan author of the Geste de' Conti di Barcellona, (Marca Hispanica, by Baluzio, chap. 28,) who records the summons to Peter, the siege of Messina, and the refusal of Sicily to submit to Charles, but not the bloody revolution which led to these events; Cantinelli, (Chronicon, in Mittarelli, Rer. Faventinarum Script., Venice, 1771, p. 276;) an anonymous Florentine author, (published by Baluzio, Miscellanea, vol. iv. p. 104, Lucca ed.), brief but accurate, who, without

making mention of any conspiracy, relates, "that in the Kalends of April, 1282, Palermo rose in rebellion, and afterwards the whole of Sicily likewise, roused by the example of the Palermitans;" besides other authors, whom it would be useless to specify, as they throw no light upon the subject.

A strict and critical investigation should be bestowed on the French historians, namely, the author of the MS. of the victory of Charles of Anjou, William Nangis, and the author of the Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Bertin; as well as upon the Italian fabricators of the conspiracy, Ricordano Malespini, Giovanni Villani, the author of the anonymous history of the Conspiracy of Procida, and with them Frate Francesco Pipino the author of the Chronicle of Asti, Boccaccio, and Petrarch.

In the MS. of the victory of Charles, (Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. p. 850,) we read that Peter of Aragon, whilst equipping a fleet against Charles king of Sicily, "Siculorum monitu et uxoris," sent ambassadors to the Pope, feigning the intention of leading a powerful army against the barbarians of Africa. It states further, that in February (1282) a sea-lion, conveyed to Orvieto, by its cries foretokened the calamities that were impending; and here the Chronicle ends. The only passage in it worthy of note is the "Siculorum monitu," which, however, might be interpreted as referring to the councils of the Sicilian exiles, who had sought refuge at the court of Aragon.

Nangis is more explicit. According to him, Peter of Aragon, ungrateful to the kings of France, and instigated by his wife, "confœderatus est" with the Sicilians, "qui jam contra regem Siciliæ Carolum conspiraverant. Nam missi Siculorum, Panormitanorum maxime et Messanensium, ad ipsum tum convenerant, dicentes quod si contra regem Carolum vellet cum ipsis insurgere et eosdem tueri, de cætero ipsum in regem et dominum reciperent et haberent . . . . . Circa idem tempus (1281) Petrus Arragoniæ rex assensum dedit Siculis qui contra dominum suum

regem Siciliæ Carolum conspiraverant," &c. Then touching upon the expedition fitted out by Charles against the Emperor of Constantinople, of which we are informed by all the other historians, Nangis speaks of it as of a new crusade, having for its object the re-conquest of Jerusalem. He adds, that no sooner were the Sicilian ambassadors returned from the court of Peter, than the Palermitans and Messinese rose in rebellion; Peter, being informed of it, took up arms for their assistance, making a pretext of war against the barbarians of Africa, while encouraging the Sicilians by his emissaries. He makes no mention of John of Procida, but doubtless the passages quoted contain an accusation of conspiracy between Peter and the Sicilian notables, (Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. pp. 537—539.) Now if we examine the claims of Nangis as an authority, we must observe, that in reading at length the biographies of the kings of France compiled by him, we find him lauding his sovereigns to the skies, as became a monk and a court historiographer; and it is easy to perceive that he would relate that alone which was received as truth at the court of France. Thus, in the events of the war carried into Aragon in 1285, and on other occasions, we find the biographer passing over and mutilating some facts, and adding to or diminishing from the importance of others, as he deemed most conducive to the glory of the French princes. We may add to this, that after the cruel massacre of the French in Sicily, the exasperation of public opinion in France would naturally give credit to such statements only as were most unfavourable to Peter and to the Sicilians, aggravating the guilt of the slaughter by superadding that of premeditation and treachery, branding the inauguration of the new king as the result of conspiracy, and thus striving to exculpate the fallen rule of Charles, because, while every government is liable to the attacks of conspirators, the desperation of a whole people breaking forth in revolution affixes the guilt to the ruling power alone. Moreover, Nangis wrote after the above-mentioned Ara-

gonese war, which although in any case most unjust, would appear less so in proportion as the offences of Peter could be made to assume a blacker dye. These facts tend to diminish the weight of the testimony of Nangis, which is nowise affected by the old French translation of his works to be found in the Chronicles of St. Denys, and which has recently been published by the side of the Latin text, (Rer. Gallic. et Franc. Script. vol. xx. Paris, 1840;) nor should I mention it, were it not that this version, while omitting many portions of the original, here suppresses the passage concerning the rights of Peter of Aragon to the throne of Sicily, and adds to the substance of the text, that Peter sent two knights to Sicily to ascertain the truth of Queen Constance's representations concerning the dispositions of the Sicilians; and having assured himself of it, and the revolution being decided upon, "ceulz de Palernes et de Meschines et de toutes les autres bonnes villes seignerent les huis des François par nuit, et quant il vint au point du jour qu'ils pourrent entour eulz voir, ils occistrent tous ceulz qu'ils pourrent trouver," &c. Now this statement, which transforms the Sicilian Vespers into Sicilian Matins, speaks of the Palermitans and Messinese, and of the greater part of the other Sicilians, as if in one and the same city they had marked the doors of the French at night, and had commenced the slaughter at day-break, as soon as they could recognise, by aid of the marks, the houses which they had themselves been able to distinguish and to mark in the darkness; and we here distinctly trace the fable of the simultaneous massacre with yet one more additional improbability. The learned are in doubt whether this translation is to be attributed to Nangis himself. My own opinion is, that a cotemporary, who accurately recorded the event at least, if not the cause, could not afterwards have disfigured his narrative with fables so ill-contrived; and therefore I do not think this a reason for still further invalidating the testimony of Nangis, but should rather suppose that either the translation itself was written, or at

least this passage interpolated, by another hand at a later period.

Lastly, the Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Bertin speaks of the conspiracy more vaguely than Nangis, (in Martene et Durand, Thes. Nov. Anec. vol. iii. p. 762, &c.) It states that Peter of Aragon, claiming Sicily in right of his wife, exerted himself, "nunc commotiones, nunc seditiones excitans, nunc amicos sibi secreti concilians; semper, in quantum poterat, laborans ad finem intentum;" and that, amongst other things, he stirred up the barbarians of Tunis against the Christians; which neither was true, nor could be of any advantage in furtherance of the designs of Peter. Equally unfounded is the mention here made of disturbances and seditions prior to the Vespers, for, on the contrary, the calm of servitude continued without interruption up to the very day of the revolution. "Per suam etiam astutiam," continues the Chronicler, "commotionem excitavit in regno Siciliæ. Mandatus tandem ab eis, in Siciliam venit, dominium sibi usurpavit, et se in regem Siciliæ coronari fecit." It then relates the first outbreak as taking place in Palermo, and the progress of the revolution throughout the island. I should not have here mentioned this Chronicle had it been entirely written by John Iperio, who lived a hundred years after the Vespers, but as, in the prefaces, (Op. cit. pp. 441—444,) the learned editors have stated their belief that the first part was the work of a writer in the thirteenth century, I have not chosen to pass it over in silence. Whoever may have been the author of the portion which treats of the Sicilian revolution, the particulars are given more in detail than by Nangis; while, on the other hand, the allusions to the intrigues of the Sicilians with Peter of Aragon are much more vague.

Proceeding to the Italian writers, we find the tradition of the conspiracy in Ricordano Malespini and his continuator Giachetto Malespini, and in Giovanni Villani Muratori, R. I. S. vols. viii. and xiii.), who are, properly

speaking, the authors of the fame of John of Procida, from whom all the rest have copied his history. But, in the first place, we must reflect that these three authorities do, in fact, reduce themselves to one—that, namely, of Giachetto. The intrigues of the alleged conspirators could not have been known in a Guelf city of Italy before the event; now Ricordano, who details them with great minuteness before the Vespers—that is, under the head of the year 1281, must have ceased writing at that period at latest, even granting that he lived and retained all his faculties to the age of a hundred years; for he himself states, that he went to Rome as a youth in the year 1200. It is, therefore, evident that Ricordano could not have written these concluding chapters of his Chronicle, and that they must be the work of his continuator, Giachetto, or at least interpolated by him, because, when narrating the outbreak of the Vespers and attributing it to a conspiracy, he chose to insert the account of that conspiracy into the Chronicle of Ricordano, which came down to 1281.

As to Villani, he must have been an infant, or, at any rate, a child, in 1282, and certainly did not commence writing till many years later. His narrative of the conspiracy, and of the outbreak, is not derived, but rather transcribed, word for word, the former, from the Chronicle attributed to Ricordano, the latter, from Giachetto's sequel to it, with some insignificant circumstances, more or less, which in no degree conceal the plagiarism acknowledged by Muratori in his prefaces to Malespini and Villani. If we, therefore, examine together the narratives of Villani and Giachetto, which, on account of their perfect coincidence, may be regarded as one, we shall perceive, that both of them, being Florentines, living at a time when the city was entirely under the control of the Guelf faction and strengthened itself against the other Tuscan towns by the reputation and influence of the kings of Naples, are still less scrupulous in their partiality than the French historians, as passion is always increased by

the vicinity of its object. Thus, in every line they betray their inclination to the Guelf party, and hostility to the Sicilians. Concerning Villani, Muratori states, in his preface quoted above, that little reliance is to be placed on him in the vicissitudes of the Guelf and Ghibeline factions after the time of Frederick II. Added to this, he was possibly still further swayed by family interest; for, in the diplomas concerning the stipulation of the duel between Peter and Charles, we read amongst the names of Charles's securities (see ch. ix. vol. ii.), one Giovanni Villani, a relation perhaps of the historian. Sundry and manifold are the errors of these chroniclers, far removed from Sicily, and inclined to colour their narrative to what they deemed the greater disadvantage of the hostile party; and this is no more than always has been and always will be done, even where no calumny is intended. We will not dwell upon the error of Giachetto, who places the Vespers on the 3d of March, as this may probably be a mistake of the copyists. Ricordano and Villani both record the very improbable accusation of corruption against Nicholas III., said to have been bought by Procida with the gold of Paleologus; and they suppose that Peter of Aragon requested a subsidy from the King of France to carry on his preparations, when it is well known that one of the chief arguments with which he defended his impenetrable silence concerning the object of the expedition, was, that he had prepared it without the aid of any. Giachetto and Villani, with manifest error, state the tumult to have commenced at Morreale, when "i baroni e caporali che teneano mano al tradimento" were assembled in Palermo "a pasquare;" and they relate how, during the festivities, a Frenchman laid hands on a woman with intent to do her an outrage; and that hence arose the affray promoted by the conspirators, who were worsted in the struggle, but afterwards slew all the French in Palermo, and, hastening to their native towns, raised the whole island in rebellion. In the siege of Messina the two chroniclers are no less

inaccurate, and produce an apocryphal letter of Pope Martin, framed without any regard to the tenour of the feelings exhibited in the bulls issued at that period, (see ch. vii.) Moreover, as they base their whole fabric upon Procida, so they make the Sicilians send him as their ambassador to offer the crown to Peter, while the Sicilian and Catalan historians, who could neither be ignorant nor silent concerning a matter of so much importance, represent the office as having been entrusted to totally different persons. In these, and many other particulars, noted in the course of this work, we find the above-mentioned chroniclers to be ill-informed, mendacious, and partial.

There is a remarkable coincidence between their statements and those of an anonymous chronicle, written in the old Sicilian dialect, and embracing the period between 1279 and October 1282. (Di Gregorio, Bibl. Arag. vol. i. p. 243, &c.) This similarity, regarded as a proof of authenticity, and the antiquated form of the style and language, persuaded di Gregorio that this work, of which the author is utterly unknown, was a contemporary chronicle; but there is a MS. of it on cotton paper, now in the possession of the Prince of San Giorgio Spinelli, of Naples, which is clearly proved, by the spelling, and writing with blue or red initial letters, and traces of gilding, to be of the fourteenth century. This ancient MS., obtained probably from Messina by the present possessor, was, in the last century, totally unknown in Sicily; so that di Gregorio published the chronicle in his *Biblioteca Aragonese*, from a copy of the seventeenth century, with a spelling widely differing from that of the MS. of Prince San Giorgio, and with the further variation, that heading the San Giorgio MS. we find: "Quistu esti lu Rebellamentu di Sichilia lu quali hordinau effichi fari Misser iohanni di prochita contra lu re CARLU P;" and that the passage in di Gregorio (p. 264), "et incalzaru la briga contra li francischi cu li palermitani, e li homini a rimuri di petri e di armi gridandu 'moranu li franzisi;' et intraru dintra la gitati cu grandi

rumuri lu capitanu che era tardu pri lu re Carlu, etc.;" shows the following variation in the S. Giorgio MS.: "Incalzaru la briga contra li franchischi et livaru A rimuri efforo a li armi li franchischi cum li palermitani et li homini a rimuri di petri e di armi gridandu moranu li franchischi et Intraru in la chitati cum grandi rimuri et foru per li plazi et quanti franchischi trouavanu tutti li auchidianu Infra quilli rimuri lu capitanu chi era tandu per lu Re Carlu, &c."

Neither the antiquity of the MS. however, nor that of the style and language upon which di Gregorio laid so much stress, (having in his hands only a copy of the seventeenth century, and desiring to recommend the chronicle as a contemporary authority,) can lead to an approximation as close as should enable us to judge whether the author flourished at the close of the thirteenth, or at the beginning or end of the fourteenth century; and hence, whether the Vespers happened in his own time, or, if not, how long before it. The other argument, namely, the coincidence with Villani, or, more properly, with Malespini, would rather go to prove the contrary, namely, that the author had had in his hands the narrative of the Florentine writers, which corresponds with his as to the course of events, the incidents, often the words, and oftener still, the errors, with very trifling variations; and this is never the case when two writers, unknown to one another, record the same events, however brief and simple soever. The differences are these, that the anecdotic and dramatic portion is much more amply detailed in the Sicilian chronicle, with a few differences in dates and localities, sometimes with greater, and sometimes with less appearance of correctness on the part of the Sicilian. For instance, the latter states John of Procida to have been in Sicily in 1279, (making no mention of his being either proscribed or in concealment,) when we have diplomas (see ch. v. vol. i.) showing him to have been a rebel and an exile ever since 1270; and we know that he had taken refuge at the court of Aragon. What is of more importance, we find him in uncertainty and error as to

the day of rising in Palermo: "Eccu chi fu vinutu lu misi di Aprili, l'annu di li milliducentuottantadui, lu martedì di la Pasqua di la Resurrezioni;" when it is certain that this Tuesday fell on the 31st of March. Now, that a Sicilian living at the period could have forgotten or mistaken that day, is a thing I cannot conceive; and this would be a motive for assigning to this chronicle a more modern date, because the massacre having taken place in April in all the other Sicilian cities, in the course of years April came to be generally regarded as the month of deliverance; and the Sicilian author, having had the Florentine chronicles in his hands, might have dealt with the date according to his pleasure, as he did with the coronation of Peter, affirmed by the Florentines, and denied by him, and also with the scene of the first outbreak, which the former place at Morreale, and he with partial correctness, "in un locu lu quali si chiama Santu Spiritu," which was the name of the church, not of the place. These corrections lead to the belief that the Sicilian wrote subsequently to the Florentine, rather than *vice versa*, because the latter either would not have fallen into error as to the scene of the first struggle, or would have copied the mistake of the Sicilian with regard to the date.

By these reflections I have been led to suppose that the author may have lived about the middle of the fourteenth century, and been a member, a friend, or a retainer of the house of Procida; that, under the reign of Frederick of Aragon, as we have seen in ch. xv., John of Procida, and several of his family with him, having gone over to the Angevin side, this anonymous writer, being a client or partisan of the sons of Procida, animated by Guelf sentiments, and living an exile from his country, may have fallen in with the chronicle of Villani or Malespini, added to it some truths and some errors derived from tradition and tending to exalt the fame of John of Procida, and compiled from it what, in these days, we should call a historical romance, or a history interlarded with tales and fictions,

such as were undoubtedly the terror and the tears of the Sicilian nobles, who are supposed to have planned the conspiracy with Procida. It is certain that, under Peter, James, and Frederick of Aragon, many Sicilians, with or without just cause, were punished, or expatriated themselves, as rebels; and it might easily come to pass that some of them, or of their children, should remain absent from Sicily even after the peace; it is also certain that a germ, however feeble, of the French or Guelf party, or Ferracani as they were called, remained in Sicily, and that this chronicle, differing from the other Sicilian ones of the period, agrees in all essentials with those of the Guelfs, Malespini and Villani. With both author and date unknown, its testimony seems of little weight. Di Gregorio, publishing it for the first time, without its commencement, which has since been brought to light, (Buscemi, Vita di Giovanni di Procida, docum. 1;) observed with pleasure several passages in which it corresponds with Zurita, without reflecting that Zurita, who wrote in the sixteenth century, of course derived his facts from it and from Villani.

To the same class belong the authors who first added to the fable of the conspiracy that of the slaughter of the French throughout the whole island in one day. Frate Francesco Pipino, who flourished in the time of King Robert, (Francesco Pipino, book iii. ch. 19, in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 695,) that is, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, but was, according to Muratori, (*Ibid.* Preface,) a negligent writer and often a retailer of wonders and fables, relates this one also, but rather timidly. He begins by describing the violence and oppression of the French, which gave rise to a sedition at Palermo, and a summons to Peter of Aragon, who was engaged in a campaign in Africa. But, deeming this insufficient, he adds: "Hujus autem rei novitatem tractasse ac procurasse fertur multis periculis, sudoribus, ac dispendiis, magister Joannes de Procida, olim notarius, phisicus et

logotheta regis Manfredi;" (Ibid. p. 686, &c.) and proceeds to enter into a minute detail of the conspiracy, and the subsidies granted to Peter by Paleologus and by Pope Nicholas (here made to bestow instead of receiving money,) he makes Procida arrange that on one day all the Sicilians should rise *en masse*, and that, on the same day, Peter should set sail with the fleet; which two things, he adds, came to pass exactly as was appointed; Peter then came to Messina, and was crowned during the Easter festivities of 1282. A tissue of anachronisms, errors, and gross improbabilities, which it is needless to refute, when the author himself, who thus blindly mixes them all up together, qualifies them with the saving clause of "fertur," and relates the same fact in two different ways, as an accidental tumult in Palermo propagated throughout the island, and as a simultaneous massacre throughout all Sicily. To the chapter which contains the former narrative, he prefixes the title: "De Carolo seniore Siciliæ Rege, ex Chronicis;" whence we see that he derived the first from chronicles, and the second from popular report, without ever saying which of the two he believed to be the true one, as he surely ought to have done, concerning an event of so much importance, and of which the character was so materially altered by placing it in one or the other point of view.

Still more improbable is the chronicle of Asti, according to which the intrigues of Procida, which other historians spread over a space of three years, occupied only three months; it records the slaughter effected almost miraculously in one day throughout the whole of Sicily, and makes King Charles take part with the king of France in the invasion of Aragon, which happened several months after his death. The Chronicle of Asti therefore merits no further notice.

Lastly, the same legend of a universal massacre at the sound of the Vesper bell, is given by Giovanni Boccaccio, in the Casi degli Hominii Illustri (book ix. ch. 19); nor is

it to be wondered at that sixty years after the event, the Tuscan novelist, who had long resided in Naples and was the lover of one of King Robert's daughters, should have given publicity to the version most pleasing to the Angevin court, and should have sketched it thus, not in a regular history, but in a species of biographical work designed to exhibit the strange vicissitudes of fortune.

Petrarch, a contemporary of Boccaccio and not of the Sicilian Vespers, in the Itinerario Siriaco, likewise adheres to the opinion, that resentment for private injuries made John of Procida the principal author of the revolution in Sicily. Beyond this he neither mentions the conspiracy, nor gives any further particulars, and shows himself ill-informed concerning the birth-place of John of Procida, mistaking for it his feudal title. The following are his words: "Vicina hic Prochita est, parva insula, sed unde nuper magnus quidam vir surrexit, Johannes ille qui formidatum Karoli diadema non veritus, et gravis memor injuriæ, et majora si licuisset ausurus, ultionis loco huic regi Siciliam abstulisse, etc." (vol. i. p. 620.) It is not foreign to the purpose here to add, that Petrarch was a retainer of the court of Naples; and to mention a diploma of King Robert, of the 2d of April, 1331, electing him his chaplain, which is quoted by Vivenzio, Istoria del Regno di Napoli, vol. ii. p. 358.

If we now turn to the historians who were all immediate contemporaries, and who either make no mention of practices anterior to the event, or do not look upon the Vespers as their consequence, I am aware that it will be objected that little reliance can be placed upon Sicilian and Spanish historians, because, from national partiality, they would be inclined to pass over the conspiracy in silence. I admit the objection so far as to be on my guard against the exaggerations and concealments which are to be expected in the writings of partizans of the cause. Let no one, however, pretend that we ought to seek the facts in those of other nations, separated from Sicily by distance and

infrequency of intercourse; and that between the two classes of partizans, allowing them to be such, those hostile to us are most deserving of credence. It is best, however, to mistrust both, and to rest upon authorities less obnoxious to suspicion, and this I shall endeavour to do, trusting to the deep love I bear my country to encourage me rather to pay to it the homage of truth, than to trick it out in the tinsel gauds of falsehood.

The latter is a fault of which I certainly cannot accuse the anonymous author of the Chronicle of Sicily, published in various collections, but most correctly by Di Gregorio, (Bibl. Arag. vol. ii.;) which Chronicle is believed by the learned to be contemporary and very deserving of credit. (Ibid. pp. 109, 113.) This simple chronicler, diligent in transcribing documents, but exceedingly sparing of his own words, might perhaps give umbrage by passing over the case of Drouet in silence, and relating that in the open space before the church of Santo Spirito many Palermitans began to raise the cry of "Death to the French," but that he soon after dispels every doubt by adding, "Et sic rebellantes subito, sicut Domino placuit, contra ipsum Carolum, cum nulla præveniret exinde aliqua provisio, etc." This chronicler is moreover recommended by his great accuracy and research concerning the period in question.

At the same epoch lived Niccolò Speciale, a statesman, and man of letters in the estimation of the age, who in 1334 was sent as ambassador from Frederick II. of Sicily to Pope Benedict XII. (Preface of Muratori, reprinted by di Gregorio in Bibl. Arag. vol. i. p. 285.) Hence this writer has one advantage and one drawback; the former, that he lived in times and scenes enabling him to know accurately, thoroughly, and not as a mere ignorant retailer, the facts he wrote about, since he either beheld them with his own eyes, or derived them from authentic sources; the latter, that he was liable to the temptation of disguising the truth with courtier-like prudence. Some portions of his history of the times of Frederick are not, in

fact, free from such cautious reserve. Concerning the Vespers, he makes no mention of any anterior designs of Peter; nor should I regard his silence concerning the conspiracy, were not his evidence in this respect backed by other authorities. In relating the circumstance of Drouet, Speciale continues: "Tunc Panormitani omnes, quod diu conceperant, operi se accingunt, quasi vocem illam cœlitus accepissent," which must be understood to signify the purpose of vengeance and deliverance cherished by every oppressed people, not reduced by slavery to abject degradation; any other interpretation being set aside by the express statement that the revolt broke out *nullo communicato concilio*, (loc. cit. p. 301.) This absolute denial of any preconcerted plan must have great weight from a man like Speciale, who might possibly have concealed the truth by silence, but would never have asserted a lie in a matter of such importance, and necessarily so well known.

These arguments are of still greater force when applied to Bartolomeo di Neocastro, a Messinese, a lawyer, and republican magistrate of Messina during the revolution. (Deed of the 10th May, 1282, in the MSS. of the library of Palermo, Q, q. H. 4, p. 116,) afterwards an advocate of the Court of Exchequer, and in 1286 ambassador from James I. of Sicily to Pope Honorius, (di Gregorio, Bibl. Arag. vol. i. p. 4, Preface of Muratori.) He was not only in the prime of life, but engaged in all the public events of the period of the revolution, and wrote his history while they were yet fresh in his memory, in the year 1295; for in his prologue he styles James, King of Sicily, and Frederick of Aragon, Infant, and brings down his narrative to the year 1293; nor does the slightest appearance of courtiership show itself in his writings, which exhibit great candour united to all the feelings of a Messinese patriot of that period. Bartolomeo, therefore, (chap. xvi.) frankly relates the long cherished designs of Peter of Aragon against the kingdom of Sicily, and the preparation of the expedition in Cata-

lonia; but when he comes to the actual event of the Vespers, he narrates it with great simplicity, so as to excite no suspicion, either of a hidden cause for the outbreak, or of any suppression or concealment on his own part. Moreover it is worthy of note, that he shows no courtesy to Palermo, but rather condescends to idle boasts and childish fictions, in order to exalt Messina above the sister city; in accordance with the mutual jealousy which prevailed then and for a long subsequent period, and which, now that they have gained wisdom by experience, both cities, and with them the whole of Sicily, bitterly deplore. Hence Neocastro, writing under the auspices of a successful revolution, would certainly not have failed, had the circumstances given him any clue, to give his fellow-citizens a share in the glory of the first vigorous blow, nor to deprive the rival city of the honour of a sudden outburst of vengeance, which could not but be far more noble than any secret intrigue. Since, therefore, the Anonymous Chronicler, Speciale and Neocastro are silent concerning the conspiracy of Procida, we must conclude that it either had no existence, or no effect in bringing about the revolution; for had the latter been the immediate result of such a conspiracy, they could neither have been ignorant of the fact, nor would they have ventured to pass it over in silence.

Their example is followed by two other contemporary writers, both Catalans, namely, Ramondo Montaner and Bernardo d'Esclot, whose writings have not hitherto held the rank they deserve in Sicilian history, the former having been sparingly quoted by a few only of our historians, and d'Esclot still less known, although Zurita makes occasional mention of him in the Annals of Aragon. Montaner was born at Peralada in 1265 or 1275, (there is on this subject a variation in his text—Barcelona, 1562;) he served under Peter of Aragon, and James and Frederick of Sicily, and returning at an advanced age to his own country, in 1325 or 1335, undertook the composition of his chronicle. A soldier of fortune, superstitious, a vaunter of his own

countrymen, and especially of his sovereigns, he distorts both names and facts, especially when speaking of other countries; and concerning Charles of Anjou and the later princes of the house of Suabia before 1282, he records strange fables in a style sometimes lively, sometimes tedious from too much moralizing, but always full of religious feeling, political judgment, and military experience. Thus with regard to the facts of this chronicle, (which seem frequently to have been taken at random from the popular narratives of soldiers and sailors, and as frequently jumbled in the memory of the author, who began to write in his sixtieth year,) we must proceed with great caution, especially at the commencement of the Aragonese rule in Sicily, when it is doubtful whether Montaner came thither in person. This author makes mention (ch. xxv. — xlii.) of the purpose of Peter to avenge the deaths of Manfred, Conradin, and Enzo, (whom he mentions, in addition, under the name of Eus,[1])

(1) Enzo was an illegitimate son of the emperor Frederick II. by a young lady of noble birth. In October, 1238, he married Adelasia, heiress of the lordships of Torre and Gallura in Sardinia and widow of Ubaldo Visconti lord of Cagliari, and henceforward assumed the title of king, sometimes of Torre and Gallura, sometimes of Sardinia. This marriage embittered the feud between the Emperor and the Pope, both of whom laid claim to the suzerainty of the island.

King Enzo, alike remarkable for talent, energy, and personal beauty, afforded the most efficient cooperation to his father, who, in June, 1239, appointed him vicegerent of the whole of Italy, with very extensive powers. He was included in the excommunication pronounced in the same year against the emperor by Gregory IX.; and in 1249 was taken prisoner in a battle on the banks of the Scultenna, by the Bolognese. The noble qualities of the young king, his valour, accomplishments, and beauty, won the admiration even of his enemies. Yet the municipal council of the city sentenced him to imprisonment for life; and neither the menaces and negotiations of the Emperor, nor his own proffers of ransom, availed to effect his deliverance, of which the last hope vanished with the death of his father. His captivity was embittered by the neglect of his wife and the harsh treatment he received from the Bolognese, who, amongst other things, kept him for fourteen years confined in the same room with a count of Solimburg, officially designated by themselves as "intolerabilem et ineptum;" yet the cheerfulness of his disposition never forsook him, and friendship and even love found their way into his prison.

In the twentieth year of his captivity, the tidings reached him of the defeat and death of Conradin, an event by which new claims, new duties, and

and of the armament which he equipped. Without further prelude, he then proceeds (ch. xliii.) to give an account of the outbreak at Palermo during the celebration of the festival at a church near the Ponte dell' Ammiraglio which, in fact, is not far distant from the church of Santo Spirito. He mentions the insults offered to the women; and that the French, under pretence of searching them for arms, "Los metian la ma," (so he writes in the Catalan dialect,) "e les peçigavan e per les mammelles," and then he flies off to relate Peter's expedition to Africa, whither, in order to magnify the greatness of his king, he makes the ambassadors from Palermo and the other cities come to seek him in mourning weeds, with black sails to their galleys, speaking in the language of children or of slaves; and in this style he proceeds with his narrative.

We find much more of the gravity of history in D'Esclot, a Catalan knight, who wrote in the year 1300. (D'Esclot, translated into Castilian by Raffaelle Cervera, Barcelona, 1616, Translator's preface, and Notice by Buchon, prefixed to the edition of the genuine Catalan text, Paris, 1840.) This author is not altogether free from the spirit of

new hopes, opened before the only surviving son of the Emperor Frederick, could he but succeed in regaining his freedom. He now, with the assistance of a few confederates, made an attempt at escape, and had well nigh succeeded in effecting it, when he was betrayed by the beauty of his hair, and reconducted to prison, to wear away the remainder of his life in the solitude of a far more rigorous confinement.

Beneath such accumulated misfortunes his lofty spirit at length gave way. He wrote a will, equally touching in its substance and in its spirit, bequeathing to his nephews, Alfonso of Castile, Frederick of Thuringia, and Conrad of Antioch, all claims to the vast inheritance of the house of Suabia, at the same time requesting of their charity the payment of a few inevitable expenses and some provision for his daughters, and forgiving his captors for all the wrongs they had inflicted upon him. He died on the 14th of May, 1282, in the forty-sixth year of his age, after an imprisonment of twenty-two years, nine months, and sixteen days. The Bolognese, as if in mockery, buried him with regal honours, and erected a monument to his memory.

Such was the history of King Enzo, which fills one of the most mournful pages in the annals of the glorious but ill-fated House of Hohenstaufen.

See Raumer's Geschichte der Hohenstaufen, vol. iv. pp. 15, 51, 52, 252—255, 624—628.—*Trans.*

nationality, which degenerates into vanity; but we find him well informed concerning facts, shrewd in the detection of causes, and much to be commended for the order observed in his narrative, and the dignity of his style. He gives many documents in an abridged form, which correspond accurately with the originals, published in other countries at a much later period. He inclines somewhat too decidedly to the royal side, yet without servility, and is altogether silent concerning the designs of the king of Aragon, stating the armaments to have been destined for the African expedition which he describes with great minuteness. He represents the Sicilian ambassadors as coming to Peter in Africa, and the latter as accepting the kingdom and at the same time confirming all the laws, privileges, and customs of the time of William II. He describes the Vespers, in accordance with the other contemporary authors most deserving of credence, as being caused by intolerable oppression, and the immediate result of insults to the women and blows to the men by whom they were resented. And all these particulars are not confusedly and heedlessly strung together, but clearly connected, and recorded with careful accuracy. (Book i. ch. xvii. in the Spanish translation, or ch. lxxvii. etc. in the Catalan text.)

But, setting aside the writers on the Sicilian side, we find the Vespers represented in the same point of view by those indifferent, or even hostile. The author of the chronicle, entitled Præclara Francorum facinora, who was undoubtedly a Frenchman, speaks of the "non modicum apparatum" of Peter of Aragon, and of the suspicions excited thereby in the breasts of King Charles and Pope Martin. He then relates how the Palermitans slew "succensa rabie, Gallicos qui morabantur ibidem .... Deinde regi Carolo tota Cicilia fuit rebellans, et supra se Petrum regem Aragonum in suum defensorem ac dominum vocaverant, etc." (Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. pp. 786—1281.) Now that this Frenchman, who neither gives

a dry outline of the event, nor shows any want of information, should speak of Peter's preparations, and then of the outbreak, but make no mention of the conspiracy, is, in my opinion, no slight argument against its existence.

Of the Italian authors of various factions, and many of them Guelfs, the list is long. The Memoriale dei podestà di Reggio, written at that period by a fanatical Guelf, spares neither the Sicilians nor Peter. The author writes, (Muratori, R. I. S. vol. viii. p. 1155,) that a marriage was in contemplation between a son of Peter and a daughter of Charles; that the king of Aragon made a feint of directing his forces against the infidels, and "sub specie pacis et parentelæ abstulit fraudolenter, etc." the kingdom of Sicily. This expression, "fraudolenter," can only be understood as referring to the semblance of peace, because, concerning the Vespers, the chronicle states, (ibid. p. 1151,) that the Sicilians "rebelles fuerunt regi Karolo," and massacred the French. It says nothing of conspiracy with the barons, but, on the contrary, adds that Peter undertook the Sicilian expedition aided by the king of Castile and Paleologus.

The Chronicle of Parma, also contemporaneous, relates the case rather differently from the others. According to it, a Frenchman struck a Palermitan with his foot, and hence arose the struggle, the general cry, and the massacre, "et Siculi miserunt pro dicto rege Aragonæ;" it proceeds to give a brief account of the events, (in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. p. 801—1282,) but we find no trace of a previous understanding or of conspiracy.

Fra Tolomeo of Lucca, likewise a contemporary, gives a detailed account of the negotiations between Peter of Aragon and Paleologus, and declares that he had seen the treaty. Pope Martin, according to him, on the solicitation of Charles of Anjou, excommunicated the Greek Emperor; the latter sent John of Procida and Benedetto Zaccaria of Genoa with a sum of money to Peter of Aragon, who equipped a fleet, and to the inquiry of the Pope concerning its destination, replied, that he would cut out his tongue

rather than reveal it. Upon this came the revolt at Palermo excited by the injuries inflicted, and then follows a detail of the facts. Only one word of undefined meaning is here deserving of remark, namely, that the revolution came to pass, king Peter *fovente*, at the urgent entreaty of his wife. But amongst all these minute details we find nothing concerning Procida's coming to Sicily, or a conspiracy with the barons; and the expression *fovente* doubtless refers to the favour that Peter afterwards showed to the revolution, or to some vague encouragement previously given. (Tolomeo of Lucca, Hist. Ecc. lib. xxiv. ch. iii. iv. v.; in Muratori, R. I. S. vol. xi. pp. 1186, 1187; and the same in the Annali, ibid. p. 1293.)

Ferreto Vicentino, author of a Chronicle embracing the period between 1250 and 1318, at which time he probably lived, similarly records the practices of the Greek Emperor with the king of Aragon, the exhortations of John of Procida, the money furnished, and the consequent armament. Beyond this he is not very accurate; he states Peter to have sailed direct from Catalonia to Messina, and the duel to have been negotiated during the siege of the city to spare the effusion of blood. He never mentions the Sicilians without blame; and it is worthy of observation, that he states Peter to have been summoned by the leading personages of the kingdom, who, after the slaughter of the French, had wrongfully seized upon the government, which excludes all idea of previous conspiracy between them and the king. (In Muratori, R. I. S. vol. ix. pp. 952, 953.)

In an ancient Neapolitan Chronicle, (Raccolta di Chroniche, Diarii, etc., published at Naples, 1780, by Bernardo Perger, vol. ii. p. 30,) we read—"1282. L' isola de Sicilia de rebellò contro re Carlo I. e donosse a re D. Pietro de Aragona; quale rivoltazione fo per violentia che un Francese volse fare a una donna."

Giordano, in the Vatican MS., gives no further account of the Vespers than is contained in these words, "Succensa

est primo stupenda rabies, propter enim enormitates Gallicorum," (in Raynald, Ann. Ecc. 1282, § 12.)

Paolino di Pietro, a contemporary Florentine merchant, and free, as far as we can perceive, from all party feeling in the affairs of Sicily, narrates the revolution in the following words, which we willingly transcribe on account of the elegance of the language, and the antique simplicity of the style: "E incominciosse in Palermo, perche andando ad una festa per mare, alquanti di Palermo fecero lor segnore, e levare un'insegna per gabbo ed a sollazzo; ed alquanti Francesi per orgoglio la volsero abbattere; e quelli non lasciando e difendendola, vennero alle mani; e i Palermitani non curandoli in mare, ed i Franceschi non credendo ch' elli avessero l'ardire, combattero ed ucciserli. Per la qual cosa la terra fu sotto l'arme; e li Franceschi combattendo con li Palermitani, per paura di non morire tutti, si difesero, et uccisserli tutti, e grandi e piccioli, e buoni e rei. E poi alla sommossa di Palermo, che parve opera divina ovvero diabolica, tutte le terra di Sicilia fecero il somigliante; sicchè in meno d'otto dì in tutta la Sicilia non rimase niuno Francesco. Il re di Raona, sentendo questo fece ambasciatori, profferendo avere e persona, e ritornò di qua, non avendo sopra Saracini acquistato niente; ed arrivò in Sardegna; ed ivi stando ebbe dai Siciliani ambasciadori e sindachi con pien mandato; e andò in Sicilia; e di volere si fece loro re." (Muratori, R. I. S. Addition, vol. xxvi. p. 73.) This narrative, although varying from the truth, proves that the history of the revolution began at a very early period in Italy to be related in various forms, some of which err concerning the facts, and more concerning the causes, which are always more difficult of detection; but that Paolino di Pietro fell only into the former error.

Not so the grave author of the Annals of Genoa, one Giacomo d'Auria, or Doria, who carried on the Annals, commenced by Caffari, from 1280 to 1293. Occupying a distinguished position in the republic, he was publicly entrusted with the care of chronicling the events of his

own times, which he either himself beheld, or learned from witnesses worthy of belief amongst the mercantile and seafaring population of Genoa, who had frequent dealings with Sicily and Naples. Thus, some Genoese galleys came to the attack of Messina in the pay of king Charles; other Genoese were in Messina and the other Sicilian towns at the time of the revolution; and many took part in the subsequent wars, either under our banners or those of the enemy. Hence, all may perceive that these Annals have the merit of accuracy, unbiassed judgment, and even up to a certain point of impartiality; for as the narrative of facts does not appear to lean to either side, we may conclude that the writer adhered rather to his duty as an historian than to the Ghibeline sentiments of his family. Now, the author commences by stating expressly that the cause of the tumult was to be found in the tyranny and oppressions of the French, and its immediate occasion in their insults to the women, "Eas inhoneste alloquentes et tangentes. Sicque subito tumultus surrexit in populo;" neither does he make any mention of intrigues, but details the facts with great accuracy; and expressly states Peter to have been summoned by the Sicilians while he was in Africa, where he had effected nothing of importance. (Muratori, R. I. S. vol. vi. pp. 576, 577.) It is needless to say more to prove the value of the evidence of the Annals of Genoa.

Of still greater weight is that of Saba Malaspina, whose history has been divided into two parts; the first, which comes down to 1275, published, amongst others, by Muratori, (R. I. S. vol. viii.) and its continuation to 1285, which is of the greatest importance to us, and is published by di Gregorio, (Bibl. Arag. vol. ii.) These learned editors in their prefaces make mention of the great reliance to be placed on this historian, of rare excellence for the times in which he lived. He was a Roman, ("de urbe," as we find at the end of the history in di Gregorio, loc. cit. p. 423,) "decano" of Malta, and secretary of Pope Martin IV., and wrote in 1284 and 1285, while the events he records were

still fresh in his memory. In the beginning of his book he declares, "Nec ambages inserere, aut incredibilia immiscere sed vera, vel similia; quæ aut vidi, aut videre potui, vel audivi communibus divulgata sermonibus;" and he might easily keep his word, being attached to the person of Pope Martin at a period when Rome was the political centre of the whole of Christendom, and ruled with absolute sway over the kingdom of Naples during the perils of the Sicilian revolution; so that it is even highly probable that Malaspina himself may have written many of Martin's bulls and sentences and negotiated the most momentous affairs of state; and there is no doubt that he was at any rate fully informed of them. In fact, his narrative, where it touches upon the proceedings of the court of Rome against Peter of Aragon, agrees perfectly with the original documents; his hasty sketch of the defects of the Angevin government corresponds with the laws by which it ruled, or with the contrary ones put forth after the Vespers; and we frequently read such expressions as "frequentissime vidi . . . vidique occasione custodiæ . . . vidi quoque gravius . . . . vidi plus, etc.," which prove him to have been an eye-witness. Moreover, in relating the circumstances of the Vespers, he records public measures, names, and anecdotes, omitted even by national historians; such as the immediate alliance between the people of Corleone and Palermo, which is confirmed in every point by the Diploma of the 3d of April, 1282, making it manifest that Malaspina had the advantage in point of information over every other writer of the period. We can have no motive for doubting his veracity, except when he blames Peter and the Sicilians; never in anything tending to excuse or do them honour; for Malaspina was a zealous Guelf and writes in the Guelf sense, with much bitterness against the Sicilians and against Peter, whom he stigmatizes as a lion and a serpent; and in praise of king Charles, except where he laments in a tone of friendly regret his negligence in restraining the licence of his followers, of whom he speaks

with the more indignation, owing, first, to the natural resentment of an upright spirit on witnessing such abuses, and secondly, to the sorrow of a Guelf, who knew that they had excited so tremendous a tempest of hostility against his party.

The order in which Malaspina relates the events of this period is as follows:—He first records the oppressions of King Charles's subordinate officials; then some of the events of Italian history before the death of Nicholas III.; and here he first makes mention of Peter of Aragon. He relates how John of Procida and Roger Loria encouraged him to undertake the conquest of Sicily; how he armed himself, and what suspicions were thereby excited in the minds of Charles and the King of France, and in the states of Barbary. He then resumes the narrative of the affairs of Italy after the death of Nicholas, and goes on to describe the preparations of Charles against Paleologus, the growing disaffection of his subjects, and the misgovernment of Charles's lieutenants in Rome. Apostrophizing the king at great length, he then reminds him how he had lauded him to the skies throughout the whole of Italy, and everywhere commended his government; but that two faults he could not forgive him, namely, rapacity and negligence. "Hast thou gained, and wilt thou yet gain so many battles," exclaims he, "and shall these two vices be invincible?" Without further introduction, he here proceeds to relate the outbreak of the Vespers (Bibl. Aragon, vol. ii. p. 331 — 354), which he attributes to outrages offered to the women, and to which our intractable ancestors would not quietly submit. He traces the progress of the revolution in a manner to afford no shadow of reason for suspecting it of being the development of a conspiracy, but rather to prove, beyond a doubt, that it was a sudden insurrection which bathed the capital in blood, and, becoming irresistible, spread itself throughout the entire island. Malaspina breathes not a word of conspiracy before or after, or of any understanding between Peter and the

Sicilian nobles or cities (Ibid. p. 354—360); nor is any trace of it to be found throughout the whole of the narrative. He adds no accusation of the sort to the reproaches which he puts in the mouth of King Charles at the time of his acceptance of the challenge for the duel (Ibid. p. 388); nor does he attribute to Peter any other treachery than that of having armed himself beforehand, and having, after his disembarkation in Africa, demanded from Pope Martin succours which could not be granted, with the view of obtaining a pretext for abandoning the African campaign and directing his forces upon Sicily, where the people, having already proclaimed a republic, now summoned him to assume the crown. This is, therefore, the worst of which a truthful and well-informed but zealous partisan of the Court of Rome and of King Charles, had to accuse the Sicilian revolution. And no one will venture to assert that Malaspina could have been ignorant of the conspiracy; or that, knowing it, he would have scrupled to proclaim it to the world.

Dante, in three verses, gives a complete sketch of the event:—

" Quella sinistra riva che si lava
Di Rodano, poich' è misto con Sorga,
Per suo signore a tempo m' aspettava;
E quel corno d'Ausonia che s' imborga
Di Bari, di Gaeta e di Crotona,
Da onde Tronto e Verde in mare sgorga.
Fulgeami già in fronte la corona
Di quella terra che 'l Danubio riga
Poiche le ripe tedesche abbandona;
E la bella Trinacria che caliga
Tra Pachino e Peloro, sopra il golfo
Che riceve da Euro maggior briga
Non per Tifeo, ma per nascente solfo,
Attesi avrebbe li suoi regi ancora
Nati per me di Carlo e di Ridolfo,

Se mala signoria, che sempre accora
I popoli soggetti, non avesse
Mosso Palermo a gridar: Mora, mora."

Parad. c. 8.

It would be superfluous for me to remind Italian readers, or indeed those of any country to which the present civilization of Europe extends, of the strict accuracy of the Divine Comedy in all matters of Italian history; of the power of the mind of the author in penetrating the causes of events, and delineating them in a few masterly strokes, like those with which the painter traces the outline of a great picture, leaving nothing further to be desired; and, lastly, his authority as a contemporary of the Vespers. I will not stop to prove to those who fail to perceive it of themselves, that such words attributed to Charles Martel,[1] do away at once with all idea of a conspiracy of the barons. I must, however, observe, that Dante here not only sketched the cause, but even one of the most prominent features of the tumult, which was the oft-repeated cry of "Death to the French!" Hence these three verses will always remain as the strongest, most exact, and faithful delineation of the Sicilian Vespers, that human genius could produce. And, in my opinion, those commentators are in error, who, adhering to the narrative hitherto regarded as correct, believe the following lines to allude to the Byzantine gold said to be conveyed to Nicholas III. by John of Procida:—

"E guarda ben la mal tolta moneta,
Ch' esser ti fece contra Carlo ardito."

Inf. c. 19.

The sketch I have given in Chap. V. of the pontificate of Nicholas, will suffice to prove that he acted boldly against Charles long before 1280, when, upon the testimony of Villani, his corruption is supposed to have taken place.

(1) Charles Martel, King of Hungary, eldest son of Charles II. of Naples.—*Trans.*

He had despoiled him of the dignity of vicar in Tuscany and senator of Rome, and had checked and crossed him in a thousand ways from the moment of his accession to the Papal See (Muratori, Ann. d'Italia, 1278); so that the daring opposition to Charles here alluded to is rather to be understood of these undoubted facts, than of the supposed conspiracy, in which Nicholas, who died in 1280, certainly could not have taken any effectual part. And the expression, "mal tolta moneta," applies better to the undoubted appropriation of ecclesiastical tithes, and to the money unjustly levied in the States of the Church (see Franc. Pipino, Op. cit. book iv. ch. 20), than to the corruption of which the high-minded Orsino has been accused. Further, whether the Pope had, or had not, taken part in the conspiracy, would in no way go to prove that the revolution of the Vespers owed its origin to it. On the contrary, if Dante were aware of its existence, and yet attributed the Vespers to another cause, it would only furnish a still stronger argument in favour of my view of the question. Nor must we pass over unobserved the silence of the poet concerning John of Procida, who died in 1299, and whom, had he been the author of the revolution in Sicily, Dante would not have failed to place amongst the more illustrious of the blessed or condemned spirits; but he has not judged him worthy to rank amongst either.

Passing from written traditions to diplomas, it might be supposed that the Court of Rome, whose suspicions Peter had already excited by his armaments in the Spanish ports, would have thought of him with still more apprehension on the tidings of the rising in Sicily. Thus, in the bull issued on Ascension-day, 1282, thirty-seven days after the revolt at Palermo (Raynald, Ann. Ecc. 1282, §§ 13—15), the Pope complains that many evil-minded persons, intent upon the injury of King Charles and of the Church, exerted themselves to kindle anew the flames of discord in Sicily; "Ad id sua studia inique congerunt; ad id suarum virium potentiam coacervant, manus presumptuosas appo-

nunt, et etiam occulti favoris auxilium largiuntur;" .... wherefore he admonishes all kings, vassals, feudataries, citizens, and all other persons whatsoever (Ibid. §§ 16, 17), not to enter into alliance with the rebel communities of Sicily, nor to afford them counsel, aid, or favour. But these intrigues alluded to by the Court of Rome, being all spoken of as present, and not past, even if they refer to Peter at all, can only mean such as might be carried on with the Sicilian republic to obtain the offer of the crown, not those which produced the Vespers.

But after Peter came to Sicily, the Pope on the 18th of November, 1282, openly declared him to have incurred the penalties threatened in this first Bull (Raynald, Ann. Ecc. 1282, §§ 13—18): and the duel having by this time been agreed upon between the two kings, he sought to divert Charles from his purpose with many arguments, amongst which we find warnings to beware of the arts of this enemy who had possessed himself of Sicily, "non in sui fortitudine brachii, sed in populi rebellione detestanda siculi occupavit; quin verius, de ipsorum rebellium ipsam occupatam jam tenentium manibus, clandestinus insidiator et furtivus usurpator accepit (Raynald, Ann. Ecc. 1283, § 8). Thus he wrote privately to Charles. Darker, though still undefined, were the accusations that he put forth against Peter, in the suit to deprive him of the kingdom of Aragon, dated from Orvieto, the 19th March, 1283. (Raynald, Ann. Ecc. 1283, §§ 15 —23; Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. vol. v. pp. 875 —882). Here we read that the tempest, "quod execranda Panormitanae rebellionis audacia inchoavit, et reliquorum Siculorum malitia, Panormitanam imitata, prosequitur," ceased not; "sed per insidias Petri regis Aragonum .... invalescere potius videbatur ...." seeing that Peter "dictorum rebellium se ducem constituit et aurigam." Because putting forward the claims of his wife, he employed fraud and cunning, "machinatis ab olim, prout communis quasi tenebat opinio, et subexecutorum consideratio satis indicabat et indicat evidenter." Then, "quaesito colore" of directing his

arms against Africa he came to Sicily, continually stirring up the people against the Church; and entered into confederation, terms, and conventions with the cities, or rather united with them in conspiracy and unjustifiable warfare, so that already he usurped the regal title, and confirmed in rebellion not the Palermitans alone, but also the rest of the Sicilians, and in particular the Messinese, who were in doubt whether or no to return to their allegiance. Then setting forth the supposed rights of the Court of Rome to the kingdom of Aragon, to prove that Peter had likewise violated his feudal allegiance, the Pope returns to the subject of the pretended African expedition, which he could not get over, and which, so he says, the event proves to have been contrived expressly, "ut, opportunitate captata, commodius iniquitatem quam conceperat parturiret. Maxime cum per suos nuncios missos exinde, pluries eosdem Panormitanos sollicitasse, ac ipsis in presumpta malitia obtulisse consilium et auxilium diceretur." And thus showing Peter to have, on every ground, incurred excommunication, and to be an aggressor against the Church from which he held the kingdom of Aragon, he absolves his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and reserves it to himself to grant the kingdom to another, &c. We must not omit to mention, that in the same suit the Pope accuses the already excommunicated Emperor Paleologus, of having "exibito" to Peter, "consilio, auxilio ac favore; nec nonpactis confœderationibus conventionibus initis cum eodem," as was then not only stated by public report but sanctioned by probability; yet he never speaks of conspiracy between these two and the Sicilians. Nor does he do so in the other Bull addressed to the French prelates on the 5th of May, 1284, stating the motives of the grant of ecclesiastical tithes for the war with Aragon, in which the accusations relate to the feigned invasion of Africa, and the occupation of Sicily, "nulla diffidatione premissa, quod proditionis non caret nota" (Archives of France, J, 714, 6; quoted but not published by Raynald). We find this same sentence in a

brief of the 9th January, 1284; and likewise in one given from Orvieto the 10th May, 1284 (transcribed in a diploma of Cardinal John di Santa Cecilia, given at Vaugirard, near Paris, the 7th July, 1284), by which Pope Martin charged the cardinal to preach the cross against Peter, concerning whom it declares that: "de procedendo in Africam pretento colore, concinnatis dolis, et insidiis machinatis contra nos, eamdem ecclesiam et carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Carolum Sicilie regem illustrem, nulla diffidatione premissa, quod proditionis non caret nota, procedens, insulam Sicilie, terram peculiarem ipsius ecclesiae, licet iam memorato Sicilie regi rebellem, adhuc tamen eiusdem ecclesie recognoscentem dominium et nomen publice invocantem, militum et peditum caterva stipatus invadere ac occupare, etc." (Archives of France, J, 714, 6.) In short, Martin, both a pope and a Frenchman, blind in his devotion to Charles, and still more blind in his hatred to the Sicilian revolution, exerted himself to prove that Peter had of old designed and intrigued; and that when the Palermitans boldly began the revolution, he had seized upon this opportunity to wrest the government from those who had already wrested it from Charles, by appearing in Africa at the head of an armed force, and so urging the Sicilians by messages that they at length called him to the throne. Precisely such and nothing more is the statement of Saba Malaspina. The Pope accuses the King of Aragon of no other treachery than that of invading Sicily without a previous declaration of hostilities. He studiously brings to light all the horrors of the Vespers, but without stigmatizing Peter as in any degree accessory to the fact, although he never omits an opportunity of implicating him in events the most remote, even by the unfounded assertion that but for his coming the Messinese would have listened to terms. Moreover the very same fact which in the sentence of the 19th March, 1283, is a principal ground of accusation, namely, that of solicitations from Africa to the Sicilians to obtain from them the offer of the crown, would of itself

obliterate all idea of conspiracy; for it is obvious that if his accession had been long before agreed upon with the Sicilians, there would have been no need to further it by messages and negotiations. If therefore the fiercest and bitterest enemy of the King of Aragon and the Sicilians, who was restrained by no scruple or consideration, did not, in a suit founded upon such fallacies as ancient recollections, rumours dignified by the name of public report, and motives of probability, expressly ascribes this origin to the outbreak of the Vespers, while assiduously accumulating supposititious calumnies against Peter, I may say that my assumption is supported by the very words of Pope Martin himself.

It is undoubtedly confirmed by those of Pope Honorius; who in the acts published in 1285, for the reform of the Government of the kingdom of Naples (Raynald, Ann. Ecc. 1285, §. 30), recalling the extortions commenced by the Emperor Frederick, and aggravated by Charles, continues: "Reddiderunt etiam praedictorum consequentium ad illa discriminum non prorsus expertum, prout Siculorum rebellio, multis onusta periculis, aliorumque ipsam foventium persecutio manifestant, etc." At the same time he wrote to Cardinal Gherardo in a similar strain, attesting these fearful disturbances to have been caused by the exactions, oppressions, and persecutions of the Angevin government (in Raynald, Ann. Ecc. 1285, §. 11). Yet Honorius adhered steadily to the policy of the Court of Rome against the Aragonese domination in Sicily.

Even King Charles himself makes no mention either of Peter or of conspiracy in his letter of May, 1282, to Philip the Bold; and in the negotiations for the duel at Bordeaux, he confines himself to a vague accusation against Peter of having invaded Sicily "contro ragione e in mal modo." And after the failure of the duel, when he was doubly anxious to defame his adversary, he reverted to the old complaint, that before the occupation of Sicily, a marriage was pending between one of his daughters and a son of Peter, and interpreted his former words as signifying

depravity, perfidy and treachery, but amidst all these reproaches he never breathed a word concerning conspiracy with the Sicilians (Diploma in Muratori, Ann. It. Med. Æv. Diss. 39, vol. iii. p. 650, &c.)

Charles the Lame in a diploma of the 22d June, 1283, directed against some criminal officials and counsellors of the king his father, wrote: "Ipsi quotidie diversa gravamina et quaelibet extortionum genera suadebant; ipsi vias omnes excogitabant per quas insula Sicilie a fide regia deviavit (Buscemi, Vita di Giovanni di Procida, Docum. 5.)

In the diploma of Charles I. dated the 5th October, 1284, where the events of the Sicilian revolution are skilfully presented in the light most pleasing to Charles, and in which Peter is overwhelmed with reproaches; there is not the slightest mention made of conspiracy, but only that Peter who had formerly been his friend, entering Sicily clandestinely, had appeared against him as a new and unexpected enemy. Likewise in the diplomas of feudal grants to Virgilio Scordia of Catania, nothing is mentioned except, "suborta generaliter in insula nostra Sicilie guerra . . . ." and the "sequens invasio quondam Petri olim regis Aragonum." And at the same period, in another diploma of the 20th July, 13th Ind. (1301), promising guarantees to the town of Geraci, which was inclined to return to the allegiance of Charles II. (Royal Archives of Naples, register marked 1299—1300, pp. 71, 82) we read: "Scrutinio itaque debite meditationis diligentius advertientes, quod officialium clare memorie domini patris nostri effrenata concitante licentia, insula nostra, Sicilie et subsequenter postmodum nonnulle universitates civitatum, castrorum, casalium, et villarum, ac speciales persone Calabrie, vallis Gratis, terre Jordane et Basilicate, principatus et aliorum locorum regni Sicilie citra farum, in rebellionis culpam cadentes, a fidelitate sancte Romane matris Ecclesie atque nostra se turpiter abdicerunt, etc." Lastly, the revolution of the Vespers is spoken of only as "Siculorum gravis et periculosa commocio," in this diploma of Charles II.

All the documents evidently prove that up to the close

of the 13th century, neither the Court of Rome nor that of Naples, ever ventured to speak of a national conspiracy in Sicily; on the contrary, yielding to the force of evidence, they acknowledged the obvious course of the revolution of 1282, such as I have described it. But as years rolled on, they thought to represent under a darker aspect an event, the facts of which were beginning to be forgotten or distorted. Of this we see traces in two diplomas, one of King Robert, dated the 2d of September, 1314; the other of Frederick II. of Sicily, dated the 3d of the same month, while Robert was pressing the siege of Trapani, and Frederick in his turn besieging the army of Robert. At that time it befell that a vessel from the Balearic Islands, employed in the Sicilian trade, was taken by a Neapolitan corsair, and that the city of Barcelona sent to Robert to demand its restitution. He, in his written reply to the municipality of Barcelona, sought to prove that the prize was lawful, and amongst other reasons alleged the following:—"Quod homines insulae Siciliae a longissimis retro temporibus, rebellionis, perfidiae et hostilitatis improbe spiritum assumentes, contra clarae memoriae progenitores nostros proditionaliter rebellarunt, etc.;" which expression, "proditionaliter," may be understood to mean either perfidiously, or treasonably, as on account of breach of the oath of allegiance it might be considered high treason. Frederick, confuting all these arguments, speaks at length of the unjust aggression of Charles against King Manfred, and the unhallowed tyranny by which he goaded to desperation the people of the kingdom subsequently occupied by Peter. "Non igitur," he continues, "scribi debuit quod proditionaliter rebellassent, cum rebellationem hujusmodi nullum propositum, nullaque factio, vel conspirans conjuratio praecessisset; et licebat nec minus eis liberis, quod servilis status hominibus erat licitum, ut confugientes ad Ecclesiam, saevitiam effugerent, etc. . . . . Quomodo igitur ipsos Siculos proditores fuisse dici debuit sive scribi? etc." Thus in either sense he controverted this accusation of

treachery; showing both that there was no conspiracy, and that Sicily was justified in throwing off the yoke of the usurper. We do not find that Robert made any reply; and considering how undefined was the accusation, and how minute and positive the reply, we may conclude that thirty-two years after the event, when the whole march of the revolution must have been thoroughly known, if even the Court of Naples feigned the belief in a conspiracy, reasons were not wanting to confute and deny it.

But according to others, popular tradition has handed down even to our own time the fame of Procida, and of the conspiracy, and in a national event of such importance tradition cannot err. To this I reply, that it is at all times fallacious, deceptive, and of no weight when opposed to graver historical authority. Moreover, verbal tradition is corrupted amongst barbarous nations by caprice and ignorance; amongst civilized nations, by caprice, by ignorance, and by written histories. These penetrate even to the lowest class, spreading the more rapidly the more strange and marvellous they appear—the people and the writers vying with one another in the distortion of facts. Tradition originates written history, and history frequently originates tradition. Thus turning to our own popular narratives of the Vespers, we find the slaughter of all the French in the island in one day; John of Procida feigning himself mad and traversing all Sicily with a whispering trumpet, whispering in the ears of all he met with—to the French insane follies, and to the Sicilians the secret of the conspiracy; and, mixed up with these absurd fables, some facts which have the appearance of truth: as the trial by pronunciation, in order to distinguish the French from the Sicilians in the massacre, and the refusal of Sperlinga. The simultaneous slaughter is neither more nor less than the fabulous narrative of Fra Francesco Pipino, of the Chronicle of Asti, &c., which penetrated to the ears of the people either by written chronicles, or by traditionary gossip, when the genuine national tradition had begun to

be weakened by lapse of time. It is therefore idle to bring forward popular report in opposition to the testimony of grave historians, or documents of State.

Further, if we reflect upon the political nature of the revolt of Palermo, and the events which resulted from it, the supposition of a conspiracy appears improbable—I might almost say absurd. According to Villani, and the other historians who share his views, John of Procida, a man of noble birth and in the close confidence of the King of Aragon, moved by love of his country, hatred of Charles, or devotion to Peter, intrigued to obtain for the latter the throne of Sicily. He negotiated with Nicholas, with Paleologus, and with the Sicilian barons. Now, setting aside the alliances with foreign potentates, which could only tend to add to the strength and influence of Peter, and would always be of service whether the conspiracy existed or not, the negotiations of Procida with the Sicilian nobles must have had two objects in view, the expulsion of the French, and the invitation to the King of Aragon. The barons, on the other hand, must have required to be certain, before the die was cast, that Peter was under arms and in readiness to assist them at the first onset, or at least in the first perils; and after the event they must have proclaimed him king, or at any rate have taken the government into their own hands. But even from the very chroniclers who relate the conspiracy, not to speak of the others, we gather that the reverse of all this was the case. The Sicilian revolution began at Palermo on the 31st of March, and was completed at Messina on the 28th of April, while Peter of Aragon continued to build ships and enrol troops in Catalonia, until the 3d of June. Setting forth at length, he directed his course to the Balearic Islands, remained there a fortnight, then set sail once more, and on the 28th of June, landed in Africa, remaining there to wage war with the infidels till after the middle of August; while King Charles, whose forces were in readiness for the Greek expedition, vigorously pressed the siege of Messina, and

might have been expected in Sicily even more promptly than he in fact appeared. If, therefore, Peter required two months more for the equipment of his fleet and army, it is not to be believed that the conspirators would have fixed upon Easter for the commencement of their undertaking, as expressly stated by Malespini and Villani.

And if even impatience or peril had hastened their movements, and if we grant that Peter, in order to retain the mask a little longer, had risked the success of the whole enterprise by deferring his coming, it cannot be denied that the authors of the Sicilian revolution should themselves have assumed the powers of the State. But not only do we not see any traces of John of Procida in the revolt, or find any of the names recorded by Malespini, Villani, and the Anonymous Chronicler of the conspiracy amongst the captains of the people at the first moment, but not even any of the great Sicilian feudataries, or of the families at that time most powerful and distinguished. In some places the captains of the people were men of the lower class, with no title whatever; in others, men with few retainers, perhaps even of small property, and merely men-at-arms or knights, which was a purely personal not political distinction, and chosen for their experience in arms or some other distinguishing quality. Thus, in Palermo we find Roger Mastrangelo with two knights and a man of the people; in Corleone, Boniface, and others in other places; and the same was the case with the counsellors, amongst whom we find many lawyers, that is, men of the lower class, whom the people in revolutions are but too willing to entrust with power, deeming them sprung from the same stock with themselves, with far greater enlightenment. Moreover we see the revolution spreading itself through the island, in accordance with the direction followed by the arms of the Palermitans, not by isolated movements, which might have been attributed to the feudataries: we see many communes put the French to the sword, and yet hesitate to

declare themselves rebels, that is, abandon themselves to the impulse of rage and vengeance without any ultimate object; we see the outbreak in Messina commenced by the populace, and even opposed by some of the nobles; and in every place we find the municipal government proclaimed under the protection of the Church, which was virtually to exclude Peter and the feudataries, who could have no part in municipal government. The assembled syndics of the cities and townships deliberated upon public affairs; the communes united in mutual bonds of confederation. Palermo and Messina took the lead, and their deliberations were conducted by the general assembly of the people. Where then were the "*Baroni e caporali*" of Malespini? If the massacre of the 31st of March, and the subsequent revolution was the result of the conspiracy—if the triumph was that of the conspiring barons, they must have carried out their object, and not submitted to the government of the Church and of the republic, nor suffered the latter to be constituted in a democratic form, and with members taken from the ranks of the people, and from the lesser or burgher nobility. Add to this that the supremacy of the Church was a yet greater obstacle in the path of the King of Aragon, who would have to wrest the kingdom, not from the French usurper, but from the supreme pontiff; and hence I cannot be persuaded that either Peter, or any confederates of his, would ever have adopted such a measure. Such institutions moreover diminished the strength of the revolution, depriving it of the renown of a king, of the semblance of legitimate authority, and of a central power to increase its influence, to carry along with it the timid and the daring, the self-interested as well as the magnanimous. Moreover, it was a hazardous measure to proclaim a republic in a country so near the republics of Italy, and where such popular institutions might easily have taken root. Human nature and social necessity make it alike impossible that an ambitious prince, leagued with barons of the thirteenth century, and

triumphant, could have abandoned the reins of government at such a juncture. And this alone would be sufficient to disprove the statement of all the historians of the time, even where they agreed in describing the Vespers as the immediate effect of the conspiracy.

To sum up, therefore, the results of what has been stated, we find that the Vespers are described as such an immediate effect of the conspiracy, by only a few French chroniclers of no great authority, and by the Guelf Malespinis, copied by the still more Guelf Villani, and by the Sicilian Chronicle, whose author and date are alike uncertain, and to whose narrative incredible fables are added by the Chronicle of Asti, and Boccaccio, who lived half a century after; while the same account is dubiously given by the romancing historian Fra Pipino; all of whom are rendered obnoxious to suspicion by party spirit, remoteness of time and place, and numberless other errors; nor is more weight to be attached to the tradition still extant in Sicily, which has been corrupted by time and by the errors of authors. On the other hand, setting aside the Sicilians Speciale, Neocastro, the anonymous historian, and the Catalans Montaner and d'Esclot, contemporary writers of no small authority, we find the revolt of Palermo attributed to accident and to popular exasperation, by one French writer, and by nine from various parts of Italy, amongst whom are Auria, Saba Malaspina, and Dante, all of whom have the strongest claims to belief, and especially the second, who was a servant of the Pope. The documents of the time, likewise, make no mention of any conspiracy between Peter and the Sicilians, nor of the Vespers as resulting from it; but state only that the King of Aragon had long cherished designs upon the island, and that when the revolution occurred, he exerted himself so much, both by intrigue and solicitation, that the vacant crown was conferred upon him. The institutions created, and the men raised to power by the revolution, prove the story related by the Guelf historians to be impossible; but

the anterior designs of Peter may easily be gathered from Neocastro, Montaner, Saba Malaspina, and the Memorial of the Podestàs of Reggio; his dealings with Paleologus, from Tolomeo da Lucca, and Ferreto Vicentino; and both from the diplomas and letters of the Pope, and of Charles of Anjou. It even seems as if the question were set at rest by Tolomeo, Ferreto, and Saba Malaspina; because, in accordance with Montaner and Neocastro, after indicating the designs of Peter upon Sicily, these three historians relate the outbreak of the Vespers, and even point out its causes, without in any way connecting the two together. Now, if they were informed of his dealings with Paleologus, they would have been so likewise of the remainder of the conspiracy, and would have recorded it, had it had any foundation in fact.

Thus, amid the confusion of historical authorities, we can yet distinguish the real march of events. The harsh foreign rule had become so odious in Sicily, that there was no one, whether noble or peasant, who did not long for deliverance. The great proprietors, always the most cautious, had, perhaps, given ear to the arguments of the King of Aragon, who was wont to share his counsels with several exiles of the Suabian party, amongst whom he chiefly made use of John of Procida, no patriot, but the quicksighted, daring, and dexterous instrument of a foreign prince, against the tyrant by whom his native land was oppressed.

Peter, with the assistance of Paleologus (whose interests were identical with his own), and the connivance of Pope Nicholas, prepared a fleet and a small army, with which force it might seem as if he had originally meditated carrying the war into Sicily, by the aid of the barons; for, if ever since 1281 he had purposed the feigned attack upon Africa, the same dissimulation would have prompted him to communicate it to France, to Charles, and to the Pope, instead of strengthening their suspicions by his silence. While Peter was arming, and the nobles hesitating, (and

perhaps, we will admit, fomenting the irritation of the Sicilians,) but doing nothing, as they perhaps never would have done anything, to carry their wishes into effect, the people of Palermo struck the first blow, embittered as they were by the aggravation of their sufferings under the rule of John de Saint Remy, exasperated by the insults to the women, carried away by the impulse of the struggle which followed. It was the people who massacred the French, and then established a government after their own fashion, because the victory was obtained by them alone. And here we would remind the reader that in Sicily, both under the Norman and Suabian rule, the feudal power never exceeded very moderate limits; that the disposition of the cities of the royal domain was popular here, as in Germany, Provence, Catalonia, and England; that even the feudal towns enjoyed municipal regulations independent of their lords; that the memory of the republic of 1254 was still cherished, and the example of the Italian cities near at hand; that, lastly, the baronage having been in great part renovated by Charles, was necessarily rendered odious by the introduction of new men and new abuses. Hence it arose that a republic was proclaimed by the people of Palermo, and that, as they traversed the island in arms, force, example, and the influence of the same causes, rapidly won over the whole island to republican sentiments. In Sicily there were nobles as well as people, and it is very probable that democratic institutions were unwelcome to the former; but they kept silence before the strength and impetus of the revolution, and let things take their course, at the same time that, being unable to establish an oligarchy, and unwilling to submit to a democratic republic, they continued their intrigues with Peter with redoubled zeal; and by the influence of property, the fame of ancestry and personal distinction, they succeeded at length in gaining the ascendancy in the counsels of a nation, which, though recently shaken by a popular movement, had been long accustomed to aristocratic power in a

limited form. Peter, who could not advance at once to attack the island, because that would have been to declare war against the Church and the Republic, rather than against the usurper, devised the African expedition, in order to show himself at hand and in arms. The influence of the nobles over the parliament then procured for him the offer of the throne: and thus, however widely extended we might allow the aristocratic conspiracy to have been, we should be led to the conclusion, that, diverted from the prosecution of its original design by the revolution of the Vespers, it nevertheless accomplished it five months after, in the Sicilian parliament, by an exercise of civil power.

But the narratives of the Vespers, of the accession of Peter, of his designs, and his dealings with Paleologus and the Sicilians, continued for a long time to diffuse themselves throughout Italy and beyond the Alps, without the aid of printing, or of ease or frequency of communication; and being, consequently, distorted by party spirit, or by ignorance always more ready to give credit to falsehood than to truth which is too simple for its appetite. In France and Guelfic Italy, the narrative, taking its colouring from public opinion, could not fail to undergo still greater modifications. Of those who had intrigued with Peter, some, taking advantage of the natural obscurity of the transaction to exalt themselves and their friends, put forward in their statements both truth and falsehood, which were believed with equal readiness; and thus, by degrees, the conspiracy, the Vespers, and the coming of Peter, were placed in connexion with one another. Nevertheless, in those early days, the truth was known to the more accurate and well-informed; but in a few years' time oral tradition became corrupted, the chronicles were unread, or those only believed which dealt in the marvellous; the power of Charles was known to have been very great, and the rebellion of Sicily was looked upon "quasi cosa maravigliosa e impossibile," (Gio. Villani, ch. 56,) and as "opera divina ovvero diabolica," (Paolino di

Pietro, loc. cit.); so that at last it came to be attributed to a cause no less marvellous, a conspiracy between three potentates and the principal barons of Sicily. The partisans of the Court of Naples, thinking it more to the credit of the latter to have lost the island in consequence of so execrable a plot than by a general rebellion, lent their aid to the propagation of the report. The conflict of Santo Spirito was designated as the explosion of the conspiracy, the eight-and-twenty days which it took to complete the revolution throughout the island were compressed into two hours, the sound of the Vesper bell was represented as the preconcerted signal, and the whole Sicilian nation as conspiring together for three years. In this form the facts were handed down to the compilers of history of succeeding centuries, and, owing either to chance, or to the charms of language and style, the Chronicles of Malespini and Villani were those that obtained the most extensive circulation.

Hence, not to mention numerous others, Angelo di Costanzo, an author of the sixteenth century, without quoting any contemporary authorities, and adhering to the fable not related even by the two Florentine chroniclers, stated the massacre to have been accomplished, throughout the entire island, in two hours (Storia del Regno di Napoli, book ii.); and, what is hardly to be believed, Denina (Rivol. d'Italia, book xiii. ch. 3, 4) refers to him; and Giannone (Storia Civili del Regno di Napoli, book xx. ch. 5) adopts this fabulous narrative, and places more reliance on the improbable statement of Costanzo, than on Malespini, Villani, &c. whom he quotes. Capecelatro (Storia di Napoli, part iv. book i.) falls into the same error, even after quoting the history in Sicilian dialect, which gives the account of the conspiracy, but not that of the simultaneous massacre.

The latter is not supported by any historian of reputation.

Summonte (Storia di Napoli, book iii.) implicitly follows

Villani; so does Zurita (Annals of Aragon, book iv. ch. 17), who was a pains-taking historian and nothing more.

Amongst Sicilian writers, Maurolico (book iv. year 1282) and Fazzello (Deca. ii. book viii. ch. 4) give both the explanations of the revolution, namely, the conspiracy, and the hatred inspired by misgovernment and breaking forth on the provocation of Drouet. Mugnos (Ragguagli del Vespro Siciliano) heaps together without discernment conspiracy, oppression, and the outrage of Drouet, which he represents as directed against the daughter of Roger Mastrangelo, one of the principal conspirators; and he records, in a series of ill-contrived fabrications, the occasions which gave rise to the rebellion of every other city in the island, with names, and dates, and all particulars. As usual, he quotes no contemporary authority; and it would be trouble wasted to refute the statements of a boastful writer of Spanish descent of the seventeenth century. Burigny, a Frenchman, but a Sicilian historiographer, generally held in less estimation than he deserves, relates the conspiracy and the adventure of Drouet; and although giving credit to the more recent authors, and even to Mugnos, he nevertheless arrives at the correct conclusion, that the massacre was accidental (Storia di Sicilia, part ii. book i. ch. 2). Caruso, Inveges, Aprile, Gallo, Bonfiglio, and the innumerable other annalists that encumber our libraries, follow in the footsteps of those above-mentioned; and the simple-minded and laborious Di Blasi comes near to the mark, when he concludes "that the preconcerted plot, which was to break forth in one day throughout the entire island, was anticipated by an unforeseen accident;" thus deeming himself to have reconciled the various and contradictory accounts.

But amongst foreign historians the most celebrated either take my view of the case, or approach very nearly to it. The sober-minded Muratori (Annali d'Italia, 1282), after recounting the conspiracy, according to the statements of Malespini and Villani, continues: "Now, it

came to pass, that on the 30th or, according to others, on the 31st of March, the Palermitans, having taken arms, &c." and proceeds to relate the event without further connecting it with the conspiracy. From the same sources the more imaginative Sismondi gathers that Procida caused the Sicilian revolution, "not by intrigue, but by stirring up the passions of the people; and by sending to Palermo the nobles and the soldiers, (thus he interprets the *Caporali* of Giachetto Malespini,) to assume the direction of the movement, well assured that the occasion would not be long delayed." Nevertheless, he attributes the rising to outrage, makes no further mention of the confederates of Procida, and recounts the progressive slaughter throughout the Island, (Hist. des Répub. Ital. du moyen age, ch. 22.) Prior to Sismondi, Bréquigny, a historian of the most patient research, and accustomed to subject his authorities to that minute investigation which will accept nothing upon trust, had sketched in a few pages the events of the Vespers, as derived from State papers, and had drawn from them the conclusion, that "it was evident that the Sicilian revolution was not the result of conspiracy, and that no conspiracy existed." (Magazin Encyclopédique, vol. ii. Paris, year 3, 1795, pp. 500 — 512.) The same opinion is held by M. Koch, (Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe, vol. i. Paris, 1823, p. 175;) and he adds that he considers "the plot with Peter of Aragon, in consequence of which the Palermitans raised the standard of the Church with the intention of giving themselves up into the hands of the Pope," equally improbable with the simultaneous slaughter throughout the Island. Nor does Shoell (Cours d'Histoire des États Européens, Paris, Berlin, vol. vi. p. 49) maintain a different opinion. And, to conclude with the names of the two loftiest intellects of the eighteenth century, I will close my list with Voltaire and Gibbon. The former, in his rapid sketch of the vicissitudes of human societies, paused for an instant before the Sicilian Vespers; he distinguished the conspiracy from the event,

and stated John of Procida to have prepared the minds of the people, but the outrage offered to a woman to have occasioned the massacre (Essai sur l'Esprit et les Mœurs des Nations, ch. 61). After a perhaps more minute examination into facts, the author of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (ch. 62) leaves in doubt the origin of the facts which he details with the utmost historical accuracy. "It may be questioned," says he, "whether the instant explosion of Palermo were the effect of accident or design;" but that which leaves him in doubt on the subject is an error, namely, the supposed presence of Peter on the African coast at the period of the Vespers; and therefore he reproaches the patriot Speciale with "disclaiming all previous correspondence with Peter of Aragon, (nullo comunicato consilio,) who *happened* to be with a fleet and army on the African coast." If the English historian had compared dates he would have spared Speciale this taunt, and himself have laid aside every doubt as to the origin of the rebellion; for on the 31st of March Palermo rose against the French, on the 29th of April there was not a city in the island which adhered to them; and it was not until June, when his cause had already been espoused in the councils of Sicily, and when, perhaps, some public message from the Sicilians had already reached him, that Peter quitted Spain for Africa.

Of the recent historians who have treated of this period I will not speak. Difference of opinion is no proof of want of respect; and I do not esteem it necessary to disprove their statements categorically, believing the explanations already given amply sufficient to demonstrate the erroneous nature of the views they have been led to adopt.

DOCUMENTS.

I.

"Nobilibus Civibus Urbis egregiæ Messanensis, sub Pharaone Principe plusquam in luto et latere ancillatis, Panormitani salutem, et captivitatis jugum abjicere, et brachium accipere libertatis.

"Consurge, consurge filia Sion, induere fortitudinem tuam, quæ jucunditatis exuta vestibus, et vestimentis tuæ gloriæ denudata, in die calamitatis et miseriæ, in die amaritudinis et ignominiæ contabescis. Noli ultra lamenta promere, quæ tui contemtum pariunt, sed tolle arma tua, arcum et pharetram, et solve vincula colli tui. Jam enim facta es in opprobrium vicinis tuis, derisum et contemtum his, qui in circuitu ejus sunt, barbaris et Christi fidelium inimicis. Jam humiliati sunt, velut Joseph, in compedibus pedes tui, et tamquam serva es pravis Ismaelitis viliter venumdata. Jam gentes tibi improperant, ubi est Deus tuus? et cur ultra expectas; et per patientiam vilis efficeris non solum hostibus, sed et Creatori? Quid durius, quidve miserius plebs Israelitica sustulit temporibus Pharaonis, quam quod draco iste magnus fecit, qui seducit universum Orbem, et se in hortum B. Petri, et electam Ecclesiæ vineam intulit his diebus? Hic est enim Satan solutus a vinculis, qui post mille ducentos annos conglutiens omnia, vitam aufert præsentium et gloriam futurorum. Quid igitur tibi profuit redemptio piissimi Redemptoris, piissimi Salvatoris, si tunc eruta de fauce Diaboli, nunc in

escam Draconis magni et Æthiopum populi devenisti? Heu miseri! quam vano fuimus errore decepti, Nos et Ecclesia mater nostra. Sicut enim Lucifer discutiens tenebras in suo ortu clarus apparet et rutilans, sic istius adventum in nostrum opinabamur prodire lumen et gloriam cœlitus inspiratam, dicentes intra nos: Noli timere, filia Sion, ecce Rex tuus tibi venit mansuetus, qui omnem a te tribulationem auferet, omnemque tibi molestiam extirpabit. Hic est Angelus, cujus ingressum piscina desiderat cordis tui, ut sanet omnes languores tuos, qui te oleo lætitiæ præ participibus tuis unget. Hic est Cherubin, qui portas tibi aperiet Paridisi; et Raphael, qui te tanquam unicum Thobiæ filium a mortis laqueo præservabit. O infelix opinio, et spes fallax! Hic revera est Nero sævissimus, qui Dei Apostolos trucidavit, et in matris necem crudeliter exarsit. Hic est ignis æterni judicii æqualiter omnia dissipans; et velut securis posita ad radicem. Proh dolor! quem pastorem credidimus, est verissime lupus rapax, et quem agnum putavimus mansuetum, leonem ferocissimum experimur. Heu! quid nostram sic fascinavit prudentiam, et vires nostri animi enervavit, ut gentes, quæ ebrietati deserviunt, jugum nobis imponerent servitutis? Certe patientia ingens fecit: si igitur patientia est virtutum omnium condimentum, cur nobis bonorum omnium attulit detrimentum? Sunt ne ista Principis et Pastoris, ut quos debet regere, pascere, et fovere, destruat, dissipet, et evellat? Vehementi tamen admiratione miramur Dominam nostram et magnam Apostolicam Matrem Ecclesiam feritatem hujus Principis, et nequitiam sub silentio transmittere? quomodo tanti ardoris fumus potuit latere in vicinia, cui de ultimis terræ finibus facta singula patefiunt? Sic autem jam humiliatus est in pulvere venter noster, quod jam dicere possumus et debemus; 'Beatæ steriles, quæ non pariunt, et beata ubera, quæ non lactant;' et in laudem prorumpere Michaelis, quod non restat aliud diceri, nisi, Deus in adjutorium meum intende. Cum igitur Divina potius quam humana inspiratione compulsi,

libertatis antiquæ beneficium resumere intendamus, serpentibus omnibus, quæ ad nostra pendebant ubera, penitus amputatis, et aspidum auribus oppressis, hortamur vos, fratres carissimi, ne in vanum gratiam Dei vos recipere contingat. Ecce, namque tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis vestræ. Nam milvus, et hirundo visitationis suæ tempus, testante Domino, cognoverunt. Surge itaque, surge, illuminare Civitas generosa, et noctis caliginem procul pelle. Jam enim a Domino tibi dicitur : ' Tolle grabatum tuum, et ambula,' cum sana facta sis. Quæ sedebas in tenebris, et in umbra mortis viliter tabescebas, leva in circuitu oculos tuos et contemplare cælum, et novam gloriam libertatis. Non te decipiat falsus error, et simulata bonitas persuadeat tyrannorum, quæ falsis blanditiis tuis intendit intentionibus obviare, dum virus eorum vires resumere valeat, quia nunc aquis Divinæ gratiæ est sopitum. Sed attende et considera, quod minus tyrannica pravitas exercuit in subjectis Christicolis, quam in rebellibus Sarracenis. Melius est igitur nos mori viriliter in conflictu, quam gentis nostræ mala conspicere, et sub servitute tyrannica viliter deperire. Heu miseri, dum in laude divina diebus sacri jejunii, Passionis, et Resurrectionis Dominicæ petebamus Ecclesiam, protinus ministri scelerum venientes, nos inde convitiose trahebant, et ducentes ad carcerem cum clamore dicebant : ' Solvite, solvite Paterini.' Nulla dies quantumcumque celebris propter hos poterat Divinis obsequiis deputari, nec feriæ, quæ ad laudem Dei fuerant per Catholicos Principes introductæ, locum habebant apud tyrannicam potestatem. Eramus enim tamquam oves errantes, et animæ sine fide. Nunc igitur clamemus in cœlum, et miserabitur nostri Deus Omnipotens, qui sanat contritos corde, et alliget contritiones eorum, ut sit nobis turris fortitudinis a facie inimici, et gentes, quæ in sua feritate confidunt, potentiæ ipsius dextera comprimantur. Estote itaque fortes in bello, et cum antiquo serpente pugnate, et quasi modo geniti infantes rationabiles sine dolo lac concupiscite libertatis,

ut accipiatis justitiæ gratiam in præsenti, et calamitatis fugiatis miseriam in futuro. Valete carissimi. Dat. Panormi xiii. die Aprilis, x. Indictione."—From "Anonymi Chronicon Siculum," ch. 38.

II.

"Vos inquam convenio, Patres Patrum, vos adloquor, principes sacerdotum, qui sacris tribunalibus assidentes, latus summi principis decoratis, et sic, tanquam pars eius corporis, vocati videmini, non tam in partem sollicitudinis, quam in plenitudinem potestatis; qui stateram recti judicij gestantes in manibus, utilitatibus publicis mancipati, tanquam oves (cives?) o utinam pacatissime civitatis, proprios nescitis affectus, nec quod anceps voluntatis arbitrium, sed quod judicium rationis appendat diligentia exacta discutitis, et personarum deletu[1] eminus circumscripto, cladi supponitis humeros, ac Regi subicitis potestatem; dum libertati noxiam a via voluptatis et procacio cupidinis obrupto frenatis, sub debito libraminis eque libre pares litigantibus laxantes habenas, censendo simili censura dissimiles, parificando dispares equa lance. Ad hec ex officij debito: sed utinam non erga neglectos regnicolas claudicarent, nec exhorbitarent, pro dolor, a tramite honestatis; qui nuper, non humano ingenio, non brachio carnis adiuti, sed afflati divinitus, manuque celica flati, resilientes paulisper a tyrampnide Pharaonis, ab effrenata callica (*sic*) feritate, omni crudelitate dicibili graviori, ut eis saltem sub false quietis morula[2] liceat respirare, jubentur tam improvide quam immite; nullis, pro prudor, iustis causis concussionis huiusmodi tam orride servitutis inspectis, nullis injuriarum illatarum atrocium oblatis, ne dum permissis

(1) "Deletu" for "delectu." "Sine delectu personarum," without regard to persons.—Du Cange, *Glossar.*

(2) "Morula," for "mora."

emendis,[1] tetram Egipti repetere servitutem, et iterato scabida colla priori adhuc jugo tumentia submittere importabili honeri barbare feritatis. Nam licet insana rabies Gallicorum, infesta mortalibus, inmortalibusque odibilis, quam vix fere (ferre) potest ipsa natura que genuit, vel occidentis experi (hesperi) plaga inmensis direpta fulgoribus,[2] que hoc publicum seculi malum, singulareque dispendium, divino permittente judicio, siculas usque transmisit ad horas, Romani eloquij privilegio insignire.[3] Ex parte aliqua videatur, tamen gemine nobilitatis ytalici sanguinis, innateque prudencie dignis mandata natalibus, et gravitatis antique sacris moribus non imbuta, que sola novit provinciarum esse mater et domina, ab ipsis geniti mundi crepundijs (crepusculis?) et volubilis evi spacijs redivivis, cum operis fabricator immensi ex illaque prima rudi caligine, quia indigesta mundi orbita ortabatur[4] incerte, hoc sensibile opus placidos distinxit in vultus, equavit debitis numeris, digessit in partes, media qualitatum gaudere temperie, ac auspicijs digne uti felicibus incomparabilis libertatis, sacre patrie totam reverentiam (*sic*) non contingerit, sed velut symia, monstruosissima bestiarum, solum ridiculosorum comittata (comitata?) conatibus, nec ad judicia meliorum intendens oculum racionis, internosque commitus (commentus?) sed tota herens in estivis, et proclivis yspide genti finitima (finitime?) inferam barbariam et convictum crudeliter efferatur. Hinc indiscreta dominia, hinc dira regimina, hinc importabile honus humeris affigitur miserorum. Quis non hec, Patres conscripti, quovis improvide desperationis agressu saltim

(1) "Emendis;" pecuniary expiations, and also corrections or amendments. —Du Cange, *Gloss.*

(2) Rather "fulguribus," which would better accord with the strength of the expression "direpta," and seems to allude to the more violent and frequent storms in the northern and western regions of Europe.

(3) The full stop is evidently an error in the MS., and the period should continue without even a pause.

(4) "Ortabatur," from "ort;" impediment, obstacle. This verb was used in the place of "obstare." (Du Cange, *Gloss.*) It might also be a barbarism unknown to Du Cange, derived from "ortus."

moriendu fugiat? Quis eorum injuriosas manus pronas ad sanguinem ferre substineat? Quem truces vultus non terreant; minaces aspectus? Quem arrogans ex intimo viscerum non loquela commoveat; superbia nuntia, ministra discordie, preco discriminis, amica flagitij? Quis marcido scaturiente ex corpore rapidum eorum ferat anhelitum, maris et æris infectivum? Quis impetuosum incessum? Ut de ventris ingluvie, continuato mentis exilio, laxata Bachi (Bacchi) licentia taceamus, dum potus e vicino conseritur potui, et vix tendens in aurora sequens precedentis ebrietatis ludibria tamtisper intersecat. Hanc putatis perfidem, patres, posse justiciam reddere, ac equitatis illibate semitam custodire? Hec ad jurgia prona suscitat lites emortuas, armat inhermes: sopitat, nudat[1] cathana dum sui aura incendij calices fecundiores exaurit. Non igitur hec quam cernitis, Patres, rebellio est, non recessus ingratus a pie matris uberibus, sed utroque iure zelus, virginitatis illibate custodia sancta tuytio libertatis. Jam enim nullum patientie genus adversa relinquerant, nec erat ultra jam locus ex accidentium novitate mirari. Stabamus siquidem in ea conditione strictissime sortis, adeoque lidubrijs (ludibriis) misere necessitatis impliciti, ut nec morte tranquilla digni, nec vita, pro miseria, videremur. Pape videtur libet et gemere, dum prodigiosa malorum fecunditas, tumultuosis pulsibus dubias luces, anxias noctes, dirosque sompnos, ferocium Gallicorum feralibus ymaginibus agitabat?[2] O felix mors, laudanda miseris, sortibus (fortibus) expetenda, non recusanda felicibus, qua te aviditate in hac inmani persecutione que-

(1) I would suggest the variation of "sopit ad nuda Cathana," which would have some meaning, as alluding to the security of the Angevin government, while the volcano on which it rested was about to burst forth in so terrific an eruption. The metaphor of "aura incendij" seems to be taken from the well-known phenomenon of the drying up of the wells in the neighbourhood of volcanos when an eruption is about to take place.

(2) This being the only interrogation in all the period would seem as if the meaning intended were: "Does the Pope think that we were to do nought else but weep, while such an incredible accumulation of evils," &c.

sivimus, ut deploratum spiritum ad celos, vel terre tartara raperes, antequam hoc destinatum, dapnatumque corpus publicarum utilitatum usus assumeret!

"Sed tristes oculos, ut multa toleremur irruiti[1] claudere seve negas! O decepte cogitationis eventus, hunc moriendi ardorem non fugientis anime solvit efugium, non vitalibus nexibus dissolutis, ultimos ante se fugiens terminos spiritus agit anhelitus, set crebra suspiria non largus sanguis mortuos duret in artus, non rigore gelido membra stringuntur, et contra tam adversos casus et asperos, feda quedam vivacitate servantur; at ipsa pereundi cupiditas eo ipso quod vetatur accrescit. Sed age, iam liceat perpense calamitatis abyssum evolvere, et algam obrutam in profundo persequtionis pelago evocare ad littora, et tristitia sancta, corvulo,[2] stili officio, ennodare ploranti. Ecce coram viris posite misere prosternuntur uxores violenter, candor virgineus ausu nephario purpuratur, nullus locus linquitur novis injuriis, dum omnis eorum coacta congeries acervatim questionis (*sic*) momento temporis inculcatur. Hinc obscenos veneris impetus, forme cupido, nepharide corruptionis ascendit. Hinc summa flagitiorum voluptas perturbat honesta; hinc fragra (flagra) lateribus, jnde (inde?) sceva manus scevit (sævit) in faciem celesti signaculo decoratam. Ab re (ab ira?) durus mulcro furit in miseros, mictia pectora scindit, et tristi exitu renitentem spiritum ante diem cogit abire, et extere stationis ignotas petere ripas. Alij diro scalore carceris diutius macerantur; alij fame pereunt; isti premuntur operibus: illi publicis inviti mancipantur oficijs; quos exausti census, sic mendicata pauperies aliena verecundie mittit ad hostia; hos perpetui carceris horrendus yatus absorbet, et non ille carcer quem legum justicia, quem severitas domentata est,[3] qui locus est noxiorum

(1) In the sense of crushed, trodden under foot; from "irrumpere," to violate, to break in pieces.

(2) I cannot find the meaning of this word; might it come from "corvus," or be erroneously written for "corculo"?

(3) The verb "domentare" appears to be an invention of the writer of this epistle. It is evidently derived from "doma," a roof.—Du Cange, *Gloss.*

pocius ad custodiam quam ad penam inventus. Non possunt humane mentis, humanarum cogitationum ingenia satis hundeque (*sic*) concipere que vidi. Jacet Neapoli, sub immense rupis obrupto, tristis et ultra naturalem profunde caliginis noctem mersis (mersus) artibus Gallicis specus, quem tota circumfusi vastitas maris, et undique tempestas terrore ruiture molis everberat: horrent cunta crucibus, scalent tritumenta (instrumenta?) suppliciis; nullus qui in hec supplicia mortesque prospectus est, et ad infelicium captivorum metas promissus de simili exitu sperare monetur. Est dolor spiritus intus, quem tot victorum (vinctorum) trahunt redduntque gemitus, quem tot contelere (contulere) langores, tot fremitus, tot stridores, tot gemebunda suspiria: hoc tot annorum regnicolarum cubile fuit, ex quo crassatur pravitas Gallicana. O perhempnibus tenebris obrutam feralis loci cruentam cecitatem; hoc gladius erexit furibundus. Cogit auri sacra fames avaritie pectora, novosque mille nocendi modos novis adinvenire fallaciis, et instinguibilis sitis excogitatis malitie artibus agit et agitat furibunda ingenia. Vincitur exactionibus numerus; proscriptionibus angustatur. Non nostra sunt, Patres, que cernitis nostris necessitatibus profutura, cultores sumus tantummodo Gallice pravitatis. O utinam victus exilis et tenuis miseris relinquatur! O utinam nostra sitirent, et nos non sic avide devorarent! Non persone rebus, non res personis suffragium prestant; totum ebibunt, totum exauriunt, insanabiles mustiones: summam excipe, ipso (ipsis) feris volucribus conviviare judicabimus indigni. Utinam nos assumeret terra deiscens, vel spatia levis aheris elevarent, vel insanabilis rogus voraxque fama (flamma) renascentes injurias terminaret! Hic etiam cumulus malis nostris accesserat, quod si quis hec curie auribus inculcabat, coram regijs pedibus tyranni lacessitus injuria, equorum pedibus conculcabatur interdum: quandoque diris verberibus laceratus, diroque carcere pressus, qui miser venerat tristior recedebat; et saucius (suavius?) erat iram quam contentum pati. Si

quis (quid?) igitur habebamus inigrandum,[1] si quid patiebamur, doloroso silentio subticendum. Quid de predatis ecclesijs referam, quibus mitius, quibus erat liberius sub tyrampnide Pharaonis, quis solvendorum tributorum de proprijs immunitate concessa, impensas ex erario publico prophanis ministrabat? Nunc autem, pro pudor, sub principe christiano, sacris assistentes sacerdotes altaribus, publicis vectigalibus honerantur, publicis rapinis exponuntur (exponitur) patrimonium crucifixi. O gens area (*sic*) natura bene relegata, stolida viribus, indomita feritate, successibus prosperis insolescens, ad tui perniciem Ytaliam invitasti; non impuno vastitatem agris Ytalicis intulisti, solitudine (solitudinem?) juventuti: nullus de hac pugna victor redijt, ut sacra tradunt annalia, ni quos dire mortis prepotens anticipavit auctoritas. Regna querere fati est, quesita servare virtutis. Transferant enim nunquam felicia regna comete: et erraticorum conjunctio siderum amente (amentem) instigat furiam stolidorum, quorum infinitus est numerus: ubi plurimum valet anceps audacia, mortis contemptus, impetus arma movens, et quidquid non nisi potest sevienti furie attestarj. Hinc mentis tranquilla serenitas, vivax industria, virtutum mater, patientie gravitas operatur. Disciplina constant impia; clemencia fulciuntur: plura moribus sunt vicenda quam viribus. Fuit semper conscriptis patribus, Ytalicisque vigoribus (uxoribus) pudicitie cura, privilegia pugna cum vicijs, dum caute, sancte quoque habebatur ecclesie, et a publico aberat hoste iniuria, pauca necessitati, nulla voluptati nostri concessere parentes. Ille in Gallicis plus laudatur qui magis delectatur; cum bonis effusis proprijs, medicat (mendicat) infeliciter aliena; non est novum pater (patres) ut servata federa nuptiarum regnorum jura concilient; rupta dilacerent. Non casta custodia sacri connubij, graciosa redditio Scipionis divis honusta muneribus,

(1) For this word, which is not to be found in any lexicon, we might, perhaps, substitute "migrandum," which, though ungrammatical, would at least have some shadow of meaning.

dum libere redditur uxor, et precium procurante vidibi (*sic.*) . . . . . agrestes evocant animos celtibere feritatis; fecitque servata virginitas, quod tantus negabat exercitus; nec audebant arma promittere quod amor tranquille castitatis effecit. Quid e contra Lucretiam referam, Romane pudicitie ducem, nostre regionis honorem, virilem gestantem animum, licet maligne fortune spiritum muliebri corpore clausum; que corporis habitu sruprata, non animo, condito in viscera sua ferro, penam a se indebitam anxie necessitatis exegit; ut quanquam primum pudicum animum a polluto corpore separaret, et corruptorem suum Tarquinum, vel saltim monendo proscriberetur, quem regno tandem vitaque privavit? Hec tyrampnide (*sic*) regiam in temeritatem clementiam conmutavit; hec consularibus lustris dedit initia, hec curules patribus concessit honores. Quid virginis matrem (Virginiæ patrem) referam (qui) filie virginitatem sola qua potuit morte defendit captumque de proximo ferrum, non recusanti puelle immersit? Puellaris vox festina, inquit, mater (pater), occidetur (occide), ingere ferrum ut integer spiritus subito ruptis vitalibus, rupto corpore cedat, non polluta corporis vincula honestam polluant spiritus puritate. Que res usque adeo plebem impulit ad vindictam, ut tamdiu militare desisterent, quam diu lex offensa reducitur; et publicus invasor mancepatus ergastulis, commissi flagitij debitam penam exsolvit. Nunc impijs constitutis privatum prosequentibus interesse, liber matrimoniorum consensus inaudite adicitur servituti, ut jure fori, non jure poli,[1] matrimonium reguletur; ut nulli nubere liceat sine principis licentia speciali, que tamdiu differt venenose fallatie artibus dilativis, donec venter emortuus concipere desinat, et vinete cultor seminandi venaciter (vivaciter?) viribus vacuetur; ut sic per indiremptum Latinorum hereditas liberorum successibus vacuata, transferatur ad exteras nationes. Hinc extinguntur clara genitiva; vipere pululant; et si quando pro raro Latino nubere liceat, non cum

(1) Polis, urbs; (Du Cange,) *Gloss.*

terra. Nec questionis calumpnia recipit, quasi non sint hec vestris auribus nunciata; namque quod sic publice geritur, necesse non est singulorum auribus intulerj. Nec latere potuit e vicino positos quid fama volatili orbem personuit universum, et longe positorum vultus oraque complevit; ut illud omittatur ad presens, quod absque rerum et personarum discrimine, pro causa huiusmodi non patet accessus ad mundi dominam et magistram. Non est igitur quo invitis feriatis, que matrum ex uteratione[1] queratur, ac ex certatione (gestatione) partus viperei gravem referat questionem. Est enim, patres, quedam ultima calamitatum rabies, extorta necessitas et laxata libertas, novissimeque in furorem ipsa vota vertuntur: nec est ita immanis crudelitas que multis crassantibus non proficiat in exemplum; hoc facimus, patres, que post penam liberis imperabunt. Cur enim nephanda progenies, dijs hominibusque infesta, ante vite initia peritura, non intus occidat orta antequam suo contactu celum terrasque pollueret. Sic est in utero necanda superbia, ut ante perdampnate lucis initia delitescat. O exemplum datum divinitus! O res narranda per secula, et annalibus credenda perpetuis! Perire vitia si sic cum innatis fetibus extinguantur! Pulli serpentum viribus cum statura decernuntur a patribus non veneno.[2]

"Sed ad vos, pater omnium, nunc sermo dirigitur; nunc ad vos publice calicem exclamationis invertor. Undique bella fremunt, undique remurmurat hostis, comotus orbis atteritur, bellis intestinis et exteris laceratur. Hec sunt, pater, vestri neglectus semina, hec propago, hec emolida virga dominij, et enervatus vigor ecclesiastice libertatis. Dum novam, inauditam patrum conscriptorum injuriam, et pervalidam quo a vasallis illatam, et magis despectabile quo vicinam, nescio quo ducti spiritu, vendi-

(1) Doubtless "exuteratione."

(2) Some words are missing, or are illegible, in this and the preceding period, but the savage ferocity of the general meaning is but too plainly comprehensible.

care misericorditer distulistis, immo, ut cum summa reverentia loquar, videmini tunc fovere; et dum impune a Viterbiensibus arma sumuntur, dum dampnabiliter depopulantur castra, lenocinante utero ferario,[1] dum sedes sedibus, et mortes mortibus inculcantur; dira per incautum propure (*sic*) contagia vulgus; et dum privata foventur odia, pijs a mentibus funditus resecanda, dum privatum persequimini interesse, sceptrorum vix publica deperit, et regendi paulatim auctoritas minoratur; et dum licenter fiunt que placeant flagitia, interdum ad ea que displicent pervenitur. Ruentis enim in deteriora seculi usus proclivior perniciosis exemplis proficit, invalescit. Occurit tunc urbis partiale dominium. Dum enim senator vester, juvenili mente subvectus, et vesanie flatibus equo leviter elevatus, non sedit arbiter equitatis, non cultor justicie, sed ecclesiastice partis invasor, in urbis turbatione huiusmodi totius orbis status pacificus perturbatur. Respuit, Pater, Ytalia, respuit peregrina dominia! Generosa quippe nobilitas levi contradictione regitur; molestie tractatione humili superbia (non) frangitur (sed) et durescit; hec in exteris placeat intueri. At si vos ipsum intra metas racionis colligitis; si reflexis in vobis oculis tribunal ascenditis vestre mentis; si causam vestram, que a nemine debetur mortalium judicari, sed tota divino reservatur examini, colligitis nostro (vestro) sinu, non nisi fallor, invenio qua non possitis ex parte vestra conscientie formidare. Estis enim, ut cum summa reverentia loquar, non ecclesiasticis, set curis secularibus occupatis (occupatus); non ecclesiarum vacatis negocijs, non causis, non expeditionibus electorum, sed regum implicationibus, civitatum, comitum et Baronum: honorem sic habitum vestris sanctissimis auribus pervertistis; accessorium in principale, et principale in accessorium convertendo. Grana negligitis, vacatis palcis et arristis (aristis); hec, pater, ut evangelica monita resonant, et precepta intonant ad clementem non

(1) This alludes probably to some individual fact, ignorance of which renders the passage incomprehensible.

principaliter sed ex quadam adiectione queruntur. Ferunt enim quidam et murmurant quod intra privatum consistorium vestrum preces involant, ut de precio taceamus. Monstrat hec Eustachiana previsio, festinata, solivaga; monstrat expeditio turdetina magnarum precum comittata suffragijs; monstrat vestrorum frequentata provisio; in exteris dilata justicia, immo verius denegata; indiscussa, negocia, que nec etiam committuntur. Cur sic refriguit caritas, cur sic palatium[1] angustatur? Quare non fit examinatorum negociorum relatio? Cur tot et tam diu tenentur ecclesie viduate? Cur tot perduntur expense? Credo vos ad restitutionem teneri, si cupitis esse de numero salvandorum; nisi, quod nephas est dicere, scriptura divina solvi valeat, vel mentiri. Negocia que discordia lacerat negliguntur, que tanto magis accelerari deberent, quanto de sui natura tractatum expetunt longiorem. Quid est, pater, quod publicis neglectis affectibus, manifestis consistorijs retardatis, immo penitus jam extintis, cedentem continuatis insequimini gressibus, ebdomadam ebdomadi anectantes (annectentes?) sicut manifeste docuit negocium vicentinum. Expedirentur, pater, ecclesie, nec tam diu miseri languerent electi, si eo affectu prevalido, quo ad cessiones insurgitis, expediretis in brevj expedibiles questiones; migrasset profecto in hercia (inertia) et dato libello repudij, extra mundi terminos exulasset, si sic expeditionibus vacaretis, sicut cessionibus vacavistis. Videt, (videte,) pater, ne nimium vacetis a curate (accurate) custodie corporali, ne Dei teneatis ecclesiam viduam. Cum enim vos singularia agenda subagitant, et privatus succedit affectus, nulla debilitas, nulla vos perplexitas circumvolvit. Per pedes plumbeos quos habere vos dicitis, et singulari quedam jactantia commendatis, affectus designantur emollidi gressus, ne viam possint currere celestium

(1) Amongst the significations of "palatium" is that of refuge for strangers, and refectory in monasteries. (Du Cange, *Gloss.*) Perhaps also this word, rather doubtfully abbreviated in the MS., might be read as "paleum," or "palmum."

mandatorum. Considerate, pater, quid ficulnee promittitur occupanti. Nil refert nullum, et inutilem habere prelatum; quanquam vos, ut publice fertur, Dei ecclesie adeo utilem judicetis, quod propterea reddende justicie parcitis, ut vos et plurimum conservetis. Sed novimus humani generis invasoris profundas insidias, quibus se yantibus rivulis ingerit, quibus se cogitationibus introducit. In tanto curriculo temporis, quo fuistis ad apicem christiane religionis evecti, Leodiensem tantum ecclesiam per viam recti examinis expedistis. Nec malivoli absunt, pater, interpretes, qui verisimilibus presuntionibus adiuvantur, quod ideo facitis, ut affecti inedia, ac supervacuo labore consumpti, sua jura indeffensa dimittere compellantur, ut illis provideatis postmodum, quos vobis carnalis affectus consonat, non judicium rationis. Mementote pater, quem finem sibi imposuere ipsa flagitia: est enim jam securis ad radicem arboris preparata. Videte igitur ne ut secare possit (*sic*) intromittatis manubrium proprie voluntatis. Non sic vos decuerunt vestra promissa, ante divine incarnationis festum vestris sanctissimis labijs promulgata, tradere flatibus Aquilonis, quibus vos quibusdam promissis excussis infirmitatis prehabite, publice respondistis vacare negociis sponse Christi. Nec est ut de promissionibus quas fecistis, satisfecisse videamini verbo vestro; Aliud est enim justiciam reddere, aliud graciam facere personalem, aliud providere ecclesijs zelo justicie, quam personis, quas forte cecus carnalitatis amor associat non unit (*sic*) limpidus oculus rationis; maxime cum in uno voluntas recta, o utinam in altero pura necessitas dominetur! O preposterum ordinem non necessario conmutatum, extincta universali justicia, partialis cura supertonat, et ad unius suggestionem principis, quam suos indebite subditos privatos, ac infamatorijs maligni spiritus cedulis, quod satis generosum dedecet principem sussurrantis ecclesiarum regni expeditio (*sic*) relegatis misericordie visceribus inmaniter expeditur. Ex quo manifeste patet, qua siti, quo odio, laicos sibi subjectos persequitur, qui genus electum persequitur elec-

torum; nullum enim sub regio (regno?) paciatur promoveri ni gallice nationis, satisque sibi, reputant impedire, et si suis finaliter injustis desiderijs defraudetur. Illud etiam a multis vobis impingitur, quod libenter frivolas occasiones exquisitis ut vacetis, et de permissione divina diffugium sumitis, que locum sibi vindicat etiam in profanis; nullumque, ut fertur, patienter admittitis, quod est summe delirationis indicium. Qui vestro neglectui stimulos afferat caritatis, et cum rubore confunditis, quasi affectetis magno opere, in vestre fetibus negligentie remanere: quanquam et patres conscripti non sic servilem timorem foras emiserint, quam vobis loqui audeant in spiritu libertatis. Sic itaque, pater sanctissime contractam negligentie labem vivaciter, sic valenter extinguite, ut longi temporis negociorum cumulum brevis hora consumat, et silere faciatis arrogantiam imprudentum. Sicque curratis in stadio huius vite, ut consedere tandem una cum grege vobis commisso, in potioribus divine dextere valeatis."—*From the Royal Library of France, MS.* 4042, *manuscript of the* 13*th or* 14*th century.*

This volume contains a selection of authentic letters of the thirteenth century, given as models of epistolary style in those days. After numerous letters of Cardinal Thomas of Capua, Peter of Vinea, and others, we find, in continuation, three documents relating to the Sicilian Vespers. The first is the letter of the Palermitans to the Messinese, (Document I. in the present work,) which has been so frequently published; immediately following it is the bull of Martin IV., "Cogit nos temporis qualitas," published by Raynald, etc.; and then comes the above document, being the reply to the intimations therein given by the Pope. We have every reason to believe it as authentic as are all the other letters, without exception, contained in the volume; and it appears, moreover, as if regard had been had, in transcribing them, to chronological order. I have already maintained in the text (vol. i. ch. viii.) that this daring remonstrance was undoubtedly written in Sicily and

at that period; it is sufficient to read it in order to be convinced of this. Whether, however, it were really forwarded to the Court of Rome in the name of the Sicilian people, I cannot affirm. The plainness and audacity of the language, such as is not often used in official communications, might make it doubtful. At the same time it is very probable, that on beholding the attitude assumed by the Pope, and abandoning all hope of appeasing his enmity, the republican government of Sicily, or even some private citizen, may have wished to cast in his teeth all the wrongs which he had inflicted, with the same unflinching courage with which Messina at that period defied the arms of Charles of Anjou. The remonstrance appears to have been written in 1282, and certainly before Peter of Aragon was raised to the throne.

III.

DOMPNE FREDERIC DE CICILIA.

" Ges per guerra non chal aver consir:
Ne non es dreiz de mos amis mi plangna,
Ch'a mon secors vei mos parens venir;
E de m'onor chascuns s'esforza e s'langna
Perch'il meu nom maior cors pel mon aia.
E se neguns par che de mi s'estraia,
No l'eu blasmi che almen tal faiz apert
Ch'onor e prez mos lignages en pert.
Pero el reson dels Catalans anzir
E d'Aragon puiz far part Alamagna;
E so ch'enpres mon paire gent fenir:
Del rengn 'aver crei che per dreiz me tangna.
E se per so de mal faire m'assaia
Niguns parens, car li crescha onor gaia,
Bem porra far dampnage a deschubert,
Ch'en altre sol non dormi nim despert.

Pobble, va dir a chui chausir so plaia
Che dels Latins lor singnoria m'assaia;
Per que aurai lor e il me per sert;
Mas mei parens mi van un pauc cubert.

RESPONSIVA DEL COND 'EN PUNA.

" A l'onrat rei Frederic terz vai dir
Q'a noble cor nos taing poder sofragna,
Peire comte; e pusc li ben plevir
Che dels parenz ch'aten de vas Espagna
Secors ogan non creia ch'a lui vaia,
Mas en estiu fasa cont chels aia,
E dels amics; e tegna li oil ubert
Ch'els acoilla pales e cubert.
Ne nos cuig ges ch'el seus parenz desir
Ch'el perda tan ch'el regne no îl romagna:
N'el bais d'onor per Franzeis enrechir:
Ch'en laisaran lo plan e la montagna.
Confundal Deus e lor orgoil decaia:
Pero lo rei e Cicilian traia
Onrat del faitz, che l poublat el desert
Defendon ben da chosion apert.
Del gioven rei me plaz can non sesmaia
Per paraulas, sol qa bona fin traia
So ch'el paire chonquis a lei de sert,
E se'l reten, tenremlen per espert."

From the Laurentian Library at Florence,
pl. xli. cod. xlii. p. 63.

The orthography of this MS. would lead to the conclusion that it should be read according to the Italian rather than the French pronunciation.

" DON FREDERICK OF SICILY.

" Let not man be troubled by reason of war; nor is it right that I should complain of my friends, when I see my relations coming to my assistance, and my subjects striving

and exerting themselves in my honour, that my name may be more exalted throughout the world. And if any should abandon me, I do not blame him, if he openly depreciates the name and honour of my lineage. Yet I am he who can make the deeds of the Catalans and Aragonese to resound even in Germany, and complete the work begun by my father. The kingdom I believe to be mine by right; but if any of my kindred should on this account seek to injure me, hoping for increase of honour, and prosperity, he is free to injure me openly, for on this soil I sleep not, but am ever watchful. Be it known to whosoever will hear it, that the sovereignty of the Latins pleases me, and without doubt I will have them, and they shall have me; but of my kindred I have some suspicion.

"ANSWER OF THE COUNT D'EMPURIIS.

"Count Peter, go tell the honoured king Frederick III., that it is not the part of a noble heart to lose courage; but let him believe me, and not think that he shall receive any succour from the kinsmen and friends that he expects from Spain, but in the summer he may count upon obtaining them; and let him keep his eyes open, that he may know how to receive them openly and secretly. Nor let him think that his kinsmen wish him to lose so much as not to retain the kingdom, or desire to abase him in order to enrich the French; for the latter will leave the plain and the mountain. May God confound them, and bring down their pride! But let him bring forth with honour from the struggle the king and the Sicilians, who gallantly defend the towns and the open country. I am pleased with the young king, who does not suffer himself to be dismayed by words, provided only he can preserve the undoubtedly legitimate conquest of his father; and if he retains it we shall indeed consider him expert."

These two *sirventes* of Frederick II. of Aragon and of Count Ugone de Empuriis, have long been known, and are quoted by Crescimbeni and Quadrio, and portions of them

are found in the collections of Provençal poetry, especially in that of Raynouard, vol. v. pp. 113, 154. No one has hitherto published the whole of them, because the explanation of some of the verses was despaired of. For the annexed interpretation I am indebted to the kindness of the learned and talented M. Fauriel, of the French Academy of Letters and Inscriptions.

I have esteemed these two letters in verse, though but scantily adorned with poetic graces or imagery, deserving of a place amongst historical documents, as they serve to confirm and throw further light upon what we already know of Frederick's position when he first ascended the throne of Sicily. He himself explains it in the first *sirvante;* and in the second further particulars are added by Ugone de Empuriis, afterwards Count of Squillaci, and amongst the first of the Spanish knights who joined the party of Frederick, and perhaps counselled him to the enterprise. He served him faithfully in council and in arms, and saved him after the battle of Capo d'Orlando, when, the Sicilians being defeated and the king in a state of insensibility, it was proposed to surrender his sword to the enemy. The character of Frederick, as gathered from the most minute historical research, accords perfectly with the tone of his verses. He treats war as sport; bears no ill-will to his declared enemies; is aware that he has entered upon an arduous but glorious enterprise; confides in the zeal of the Sicilians; gaily complains of his brother, but without naming him; and concludes happily by expressing the constancy of his purpose. His courtier, or rather friend, believes firmly in the courage of Frederick, but does not seem so certain of his ability; he hopes that James does not seek the utter ruin of his brother; and confides, like Frederick, in the aid of the other Spanish adventurers, which, however, he does not expect to be so prompt. The particulars agree perfectly with what I have related in chaps xiv. and xviii., nor is any further comment necessary.

I will only add, that the relations whom Frederick expected to come to him from Spain evidently meant the princes of the blood royal of Aragon, Majorca, and Castile, of whom there was no lack. He may perhaps also have hoped to have on his side his youngest brother Peter, who died not long after, in the war against Castile; and whom Dante regarded as inheriting the great qualities as well as the name of his father :—

> " E se re dopo di lui fosse rimaso
> Lo giovinetto che retro a lui siede,
> Ben andava il valor di vaso in vaso."
>
> *Purg.* c. 7.

The Count Peter, whom Ugone de Empuriis charges to speak in his name to Frederick, seems to have been Peter Lancia, created Count of Caltanissetta on the day of his coronation, and son of that Conrad Lancia who was the favourite of the king. As to the succours from Spain, be it remembered that the knights of Catalonia and Aragon had the right to take up arms for whomsoever they pleased; and Frederick not only corresponded with many of the barons and cities who were subject to his brother, but even hoped to prevail upon the nation to restrain James from declaring war against Sicily.

Lastly, I think that the date of these verses may be fixed with tolerable accuracy. They were not written before January, 1296, because Frederick, who is here called king, was not elected lord of Sicily till the 12th of December, 1295, and did not assume the title of king till the 15th January, 1296. They were not written after the summer of 1296, because then James declared himself against his brother; nor could it have been at, or very shortly before that time, because Ugone de Empuriis, when he tells the king not to expect immediate succour from Spain, bids him hope for it in the summer. Consequently they must have been written early in the year

1296; and if "Count Peter" was really Peter Lancia, (for we know of no other Count Peter at Frederick's court at that period,) that would bring the question within still narrower limits; for the coronation, when Lancia received the title of count, took place at the end of March, 1296, to which period we must therefore refer both epistles. Peter of Aragon wrote verses in Provençal, as was the custom of the southern French courts and of those of the Christian states of Spain; Constance was the daughter of Manfred, a poet and man of letters; the education of their son, therefore, neither could be nor was neglected; it was, moreover, completed in Sicily, at a time when the revolution had given an impulse to intellect and genius. Hence nothing is more probable than that a young man of five-and-twenty, who had grown up in the cultivation of letters, should, in the joy of ascending a newly acquired throne, surrounded with glory and peril, indite these verses, which, if they do not confer upon him any very high rank as a poet, yet attest the culture of his intellect, and the elevation of his soul.

THE END.

R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

FCC

DG
867.3
.A4
v.3

17 .71 57

ari, Michele

r of the Sicilian vespers.

ISSUED TO

Shelved in Basement

11817

86